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ABSTRACT

Maps, photographs, and illustrations are included in this introductory history of Indians in Washington state. The tribal groups of the area are classified by geographic and cultural region as Coastal, Puget Sound, and Plateau tribes, and the majority of the resource booklet provides information about the history and culture of each group. Specific topics are Indian houses, cooking and housekeeping, women's work, dress, family life and child rearing, business, government, war, beliefs about the supernatural, and treatments for disease. The chapters on men's and women's work cover canoe construction with illustrations of various canoe and paddle shapes, wood carving of serving trays and other kitchen utensils, weaving of baskets and mats, net making, and food gathering equipment. The chapter on business discusses Chinook Jargon, the Indian trade language of the Columbia River and the Pacific Coast regions, and provides a list of over 250 commonly used words with English translations. Additional information about the Washington state tribes includes a list of tribes and associated Bureau of Indian Affairs agencies, a list of reservations with acreage and population figures, and a list of 39 tribes with a brief statement of their history and present status. (JHZ)

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Introduction

This booklet is intended as a resource tool. It is an introduction to the history of Indians in Washington state. Each Indian tribe has a rich history and could not be individually included. So reference is made generally to the Coast, Puget Sound and Plateau regions.

The book *Indians of the Pacific Northwest* by Ruth Underhill is the major source. All references to Coast and Puget Sound tribes, illustrations and plates are direct from her text. You are encouraged to refer to *Indians of the Pacific Northwest* for a thorough examination of tribes in the Northwest.

Photographs were made available by the Burke Museum at the University of Washington, the Washington State Archives in Olympia, the Washington State Historical Society in Tacoma, and The Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

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Coast, Puget Sound and Plateau Regions

Early Indians of Washington state lived in three major regions: the Coastal Region, the Puget Sound Region and the Inland Plateau Region.

The Coastal Region is bordered on the west by the Pacific Ocean and on the east by coast mountain ranges. The Puget Sound Region is a low-land plain bordered on the west by the coast mountain ranges and on the east by the Cascade Mountains. The Inland Plateau Region extends from the Cascade Mountains east to the Rocky Mountains. The topography, climate, vegetation, and animal life differ in the three regions.[1]

A water environment predominated in the Coastal and Puget Sound regions. Streams, rivers, tidelands, bays, sheltered coves, lakes, peninsulas, waterfalls, inlets and river valleys influenced the lives of the Indians who lived in these areas. The information in this book refers to Coastal as including the Puget Sound Region.[2]

In early days, the richest people in North America were the Indians of the Northwest Coast. Not rich in gold and silver! If they had been able to dig those metals from the mountains where the white man now finds them, the Indians would have only thought of them as another ornament, like bear claws and abalone shells. To them wealth was more than ornament. Wealth was something for them to eat, wear and shelter them from the weather. There were fish in the streams; game in the forests; berries and roots in the open places. The trees were large enough to build a potlatch house yet could be split like matchwood. The climate was so moist that plants grew as if in the tropics and so mild that few clothes were necessary.

The Indians did not need to plant food for they had more berries and roots than they could use, simply by going to the places where nature had spread them. Most of them did not even hunt, unless they felt like a change of diet. Every year, they had only to wait until the salmon came up the streams, "so thick," say the old settlers, "that you could walk across their backs." In three or four months a family could get food enough to last a year. The rest of the time they would give to art, war, ceremonies and feasting and it was from this pastime that they became famous for their potlatches and hence were considered the most wealthy and leisurely people of that time. Their basketry is some of the best in North America and the great houses they built with carved beams and entrances were a marvel to the White pioneers.

The Seminomadic Plateau Indians' culture ranged over the dry uplands of Idaho, eastern Oregon and eastern Washington. All Plateau tribes were traditionally fishermen and hunters, who wandered over the country in small, loosely organized bands searching for game, wild seeds, berries and roots of camas. With basketry techniques that ranked among the best in North America, they wove the grasses and scrubby brush of the plateau into almost everything they used, including portable summer shelters, clothing, and water-tight cooking pots. Having no clans, Plateau Indians counted descent on both sides of the family. There was little formal organization. The few tribal ceremonies centered around the food supply. After the early 1700s, horses became prevalent, and the Indians became highly skilled horsemen who counted their wealth in terms of these animals.[3]

All Indians were not alike; they differed from village to village. Suppose you were coming down over the mountains from the Dry Country, as traders and trappers once used to do. First you would meet the upriver people, at the heads of the salmon streams, with their little domed houses and their shallow river canoes. These were the outposts of the wealthy coastal strip and they hardly shared in its riches except when they paddled down once a year, hungry to trade for whale oil and dried clams. Following the streams you might come to the huge inland waters of Puget Sound. Here the plank houses, longest in the country, were ranged along the beach, their rows of canoes drawn before them. Little woolly dogs would be tied up and yelping, waiting to be sheared for the next blanket weaving. Further west you would reach the seashore, where the gabled houses stood at the river mouths and huge whaling canoes went out for hunting and for war. These whalers of Northern Washington were the richest of all the Indians of Washington. Inland Indians feared to have them as enemies but delighted to give them their daughters in marriage.

The Indians of Washington state lived in tribal groups. The tribes differed in size and were usually divided into several bands or subdivisions. The tribal groups of the area may be classified by geographic and cultural region as Coastal, Puget Sound or Plateau tribes.

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[1] See *History and Culture Guide of the Indians of Washington—A Curriculum Guide* (Olympia, Wash.: Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1975), Section 1, pp. 7-9 for suggested classroom activities.

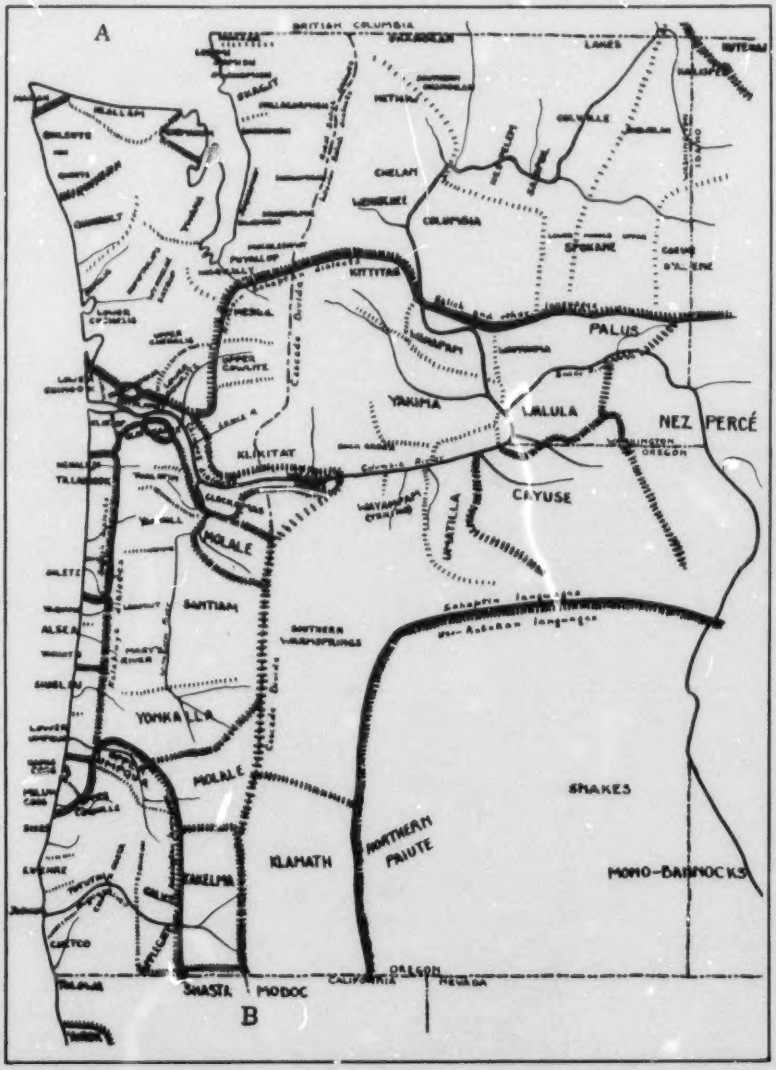
[2] Ibid.

[3] *Federal and State Indian Reservations, 1974* (United States Department of Congress), pp. 533, 537, 567, 575. Excellent resource for information about reservations in the State of Washington.

They may also be classified by language with seven major language families represented among the tribes of Washington state.

The geographic, linguistic and other differences among the tribes of the area affected trade, transportation, and communication patterns and practices.[4]

[4] *History and Culture Guide of the Indians of Washington State*, Section 1, pp. 10-13.



Language map of Washington and Oregon. The line of the Cascades (A-B) shows the boundary of coast country.

ABOUT THE LANGUAGE MAP

Anyone who thought of Northwest Indians as all one group will have his eyes opened by the sight of these rows of tribes, numerous as the stations on a railroad. The map divides them into groups whose languages have the same general foundation though this does not mean that the speakers of such languages can understand one another.

Some of the larger groups stretch far beyond the limits on this map. For instance the Salish, seen at the north, extend east through Washington and Idaho and north into Canada. The Athapascan, mostly in the southern part of Oregon, occupy most of western Canada and some of Alaska while their outposts have reached California and even Arizona. The Sahaptin, who look so small on our map, are the great tribe of eastern Oregon and some of eastern Washington too.

This variety indicates how widely the big families of Indians have wandered. Yet there are smaller groups whose relationships are so vague that we have only guesses as to where they may have come from. This means that they must have been long away from anyone who spoke a similar tongue. Such groups are the Wakashan and Chemakuan which might just possibly be related to Salish. The Takelma, Kalapuya and Siuslaw bear faint suggestions of California as though they might have been left when their relatives moved on that way. And Chinook is anybody's guess. It was, by the way, a real language, though it served as the basis for a kind of trader's talk, made of Chinook, French, English and words from various Indian tongues.

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Indian Houses

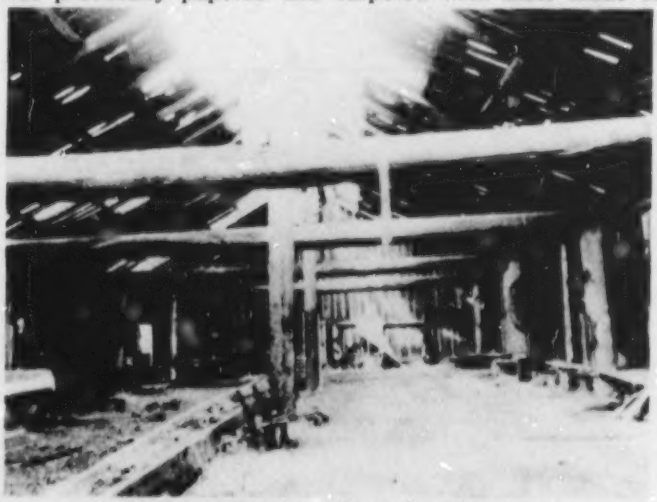
The summer abodes of the coastal Indians were temporary lodges built of rushes or bark, for little shelter was needed except for the winter when the weather was cold and rainy for long periods of time, permanent houses were built. Cedar planks two or three feet wide and from three to six inches thick were cut with crude wedges made of elkhorn or with chisels of beaver teeth and flint. From these planks and logs rectangular houses 40 to 100 feet or more in length and 14 to 20 feet wide were built. The only opening other than a single door was the one left along the ridge-pole to permit the escape of smoke. These long houses accommodated a number of families, each with its own small fire in the shallow excavation which ran lengthwise down the middle. Bunks lined the walls and the four or five feet of earthen floor between them and the fire was the living space of each family.

House type for Coast and Puget Sound regions.

Interior arrangements. A prominent feature of many of the houses was the central pit or trench from 1 to 5 feet deep and entered by steps or a ramp. Houses for more than one family had a number of fires placed along the sides of the building, the center being left open for a passageway. Two to four families used one fire. Smoke escaped through holes in the roof made by pushing aside some of the planks with long poles and bark was the principal fuel. The houses were sometimes divided into rooms by partitions running the full width of the building. Bed platforms, 1 to 2 feet high and 3 to 4 feet wide, ran around the walls of each family section. In front of these were low platforms for seats and beds for slaves, while above the beds were storage shelves, sometimes reached by ladders. Every house had a central rack built to the height of the walls on which fish were dried. Cattail mats lined the walls, lay on the floor, served as bedding and were hung up as partitions. The houses were very smoky and always smelled very strongly of fish. Because of their loose construction they were rather drafty. Houses passed from father to son and were burned or given away if the owner died in them.

Furniture. The furniture was in the shape of built-in platforms which were bed and seat in one. Usually these went around three sides of each family compartment. They were about two feet from the ground floor and two planks wide, so that two people slept side by side. The bedding was furs and birdskins. Often there was a second bunk above the first or the bunks might be slightly higher than the platform in front where the women could sit and work. All the extra space was packed tight with baskets and boxes. Some were in the upper bunks if these were not used. Some were on shelves slung from the cross beams of the house. Often holes were dug in the earth under the lower row of bunks, where food could be kept at an even temperature.

This meant combining cellar, attic and all the other rooms in one small compartment. It might have been untidy but good housewives had a place for everything. Even the cooking stones, tongs, and boxes lying on the floor were as neatly arranged as in a kitchen cabinet. The place looked cozy for it was practically papered and carpeted with mats made of



Interior of Coast and Puget Sound house.

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woven cattail reeds. They were used as carpets on the work platforms and as blankets or spreads on the bunks. They hung over the shelves and wall cracks. New ones were used as table mats or for a guest to sit on. Of course, they could not be washed so the housewife kept rolls of new ones ready. People judged a woman's wealth by her supply of mats and she proudly showed rolls of extra mats which she kept ready for emergencies.

The Indians of Eastern Washington wandered in bands, the range of their wanderings and the size of their bands depending largely on the nature of their food. Because of their nomadic life the general dwelling was a mat lodge, which could be transported from place to place. Usually this lodge was a single large rectangular room in shape, 20 to 60 feet in length and about 16 feet in width. Occasionally the lodges were circular and two to eight families might live in one house.

The Plateau tribes were skilled in the hunting and preserving of wild game, in the catching of salmon and the gathering of roots and other plant foods. Gathering food is what made the tribes seminomadic. In the spring, the roots were gathered, then the salmon runs began. Deer, elk and other game were hunted in summer. Huckleberries would be gathered in the fall.[1]

The Plateau tribes hunted buffalo east of the rockies sometimes for many months. Prior to the introduction of the horse, the buffalo was stalked and then slain by arrows or spears. After the horse was introduced in the early 1700s, the Indians became highly skilled horsemen. Women and children accompanied the hunters to prepare the carcasses for the trip home.[2]

House type for Plateau Region. Tule reed.

House type for Plateau Region. Canvas.

Indian teepees still appear at celebrations, and sometimes they are used by families for camping. However, today they are covered with canvas instead of animal skins.[3]

[1]Pace, Robert E. *The Land of the Yakimas* (Yakima, Wash.: Yakima Indian Nation Tribal Council, 1977), pp. 2-4. See this book for information on the Yakima Tribe.

[2]Wynecoop, David C. *Children of the Sun* (Spokane, Wash.: Comet and Cole, 1969), pp. 7-14. See this book for information on the Spokane Tribe.

[3]Yanan, Eileen, *Coyote and the Colville* (Omak, Wash.: St. Mary's Mission, 1971), pp. 23-28. See for information on Colville Tribe.

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Cooking and Housekeeping

There was usually plenty to eat in the Coastal Indian house. The shelves below the rafters were piled with dried fish, meat, roots and berries and with fish oil which served as cream, butter and salad dressing. A family could live well for weeks and even give feasts, without going outside the house. During summer the family moved from camp to camp, living completely on each kind of fresh meat or vegetable food they found available. Their ways of cooking were the same as those of the modern housewife: broiling, baking and boiling.

Broiling was the method for cooking fresh foods. It took little time and required no more equipment than a few green sticks with pointed ends. On these a fresh fish or a strip of meat could be propped before the embers. The Indian often used no salt but when they wanted salt they used sea water or seaweed which was not to be found at inland camps.

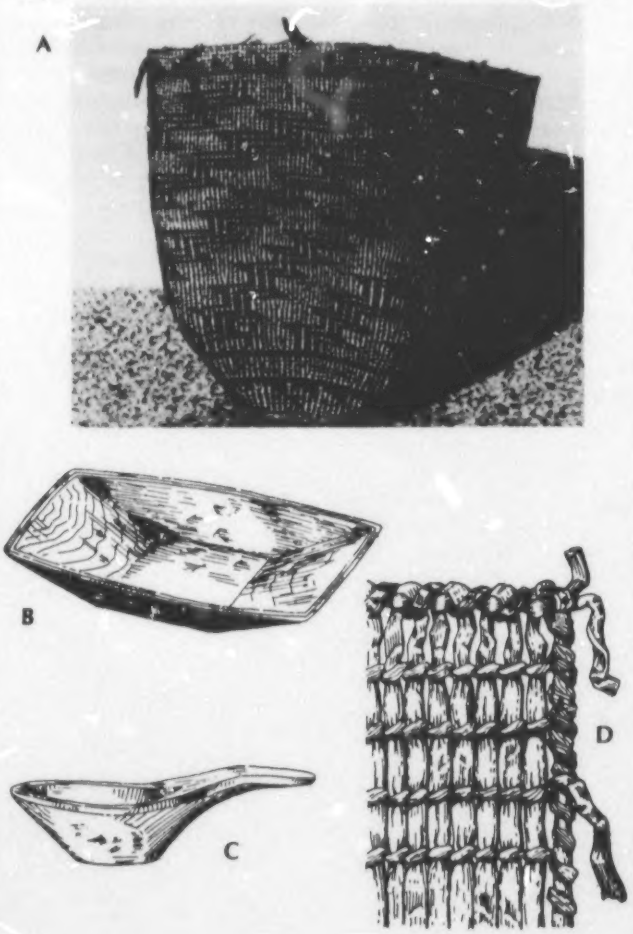
Baking was more elaborate. This, too, was a method for outdoor cooking, since it required a deep pit. This pit was the Indian version of a fireless cooker. Baking was done by heating stones in a pit, then laying the food on the stones, perhaps covered with leaves to give moisture, and adding more earth. The hard camas roots had to be baked in a pit of this sort for two or three days, but bundles of salmonberry shoots cooked in 10 minutes. Large roasts of meat could cook in an hour. With some tough roots, the woman might pour a little water into the pit, so that the process was steaming rather than baking. It was usually a slow process but it brought the food out beautifully tender, with all its flavor preserved.

Boiling was an indoor method used mostly for dried foods. It was the method usually used in the winter, when the housewife was at home, with all her equipment around her, for boiling needed extensive equipment. Indians had no pots, yet they heated water without putting it over the fire. Stones were heated in the fire, then dropped into cold water. If the stones were hot enough and if new stones were added as soon as the first ones cooled, water could be boiled in this way in a fairly short time. The pot used by the Indian housewife was sometimes a hard, tightly woven basket, or a wooden box. Some women did their cooking in a boat-shaped wooden tray.

Meal service at the Indian house was quite an elaborate affair, though more informal at their summer camps. There were generally two meals a day, one about 10 o'clock, when the first bout of work was over, and the last meal at sunset.

The Indians rose at dawn and washed in the river which was always near their houses. Then the men and younger women went out to work. If they were going far, they might take a bit of camas bread or dried berries. The older women

EQUIPMENT FOR COOKING AND SERVING



(A) Well used storage basket.

(B) Wooden serving tray.

(C) Wooden serving ladle.

(D) Corner of the cattail mat laid on the floor as a "tablecloth."

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swept the sand around the fireplace with a cedar branch, then broke up some of the cedar bark which was their usual firewood and piled it on the fire, left smoldering from the previous night. They put some stones to heat and carried water from the river in a wooden box. In a rich family, there were men slaves to bring the wood and water, women to do the cooking.

The housewife got out the dried food she planned to serve. If it was fish, she had probably put it to soak the day before, for dried salmon, tough and shrunken as kindling wood, takes up a great deal of water. She took it from the soaking bucket and pounded it, removing the bones she found. Then she placed it in the boiling box and perhaps added a little seaweed to salt it.

When the family arrived for the meal, perhaps with some guests, the men sat down first. All knew the rules for table manners, so before sitting down they rinsed their mouths out with water. Then the bunch of shredded cedar bark which served as a towel was passed around. Each wiped the grime of his morning's work from his hands, then washed them in a bucket of water and wiped again. Finally each took a drink of water from the drinking bucket because it was not proper to drink during meals.

If the meal was elaborate, the housewife might serve a course of plain dried fish with oil, before the cooked food came on. In that case she laid the dried food on the mat and placed a small bowl of oil for each two or three guests. When the course was over there were some oily fingers, and a helper went around with the shredded cedar and the bucket of water. With scores of rivers, water was plentiful, and the Indians developed a kind of table manners that were much like those of the ancient Romans.

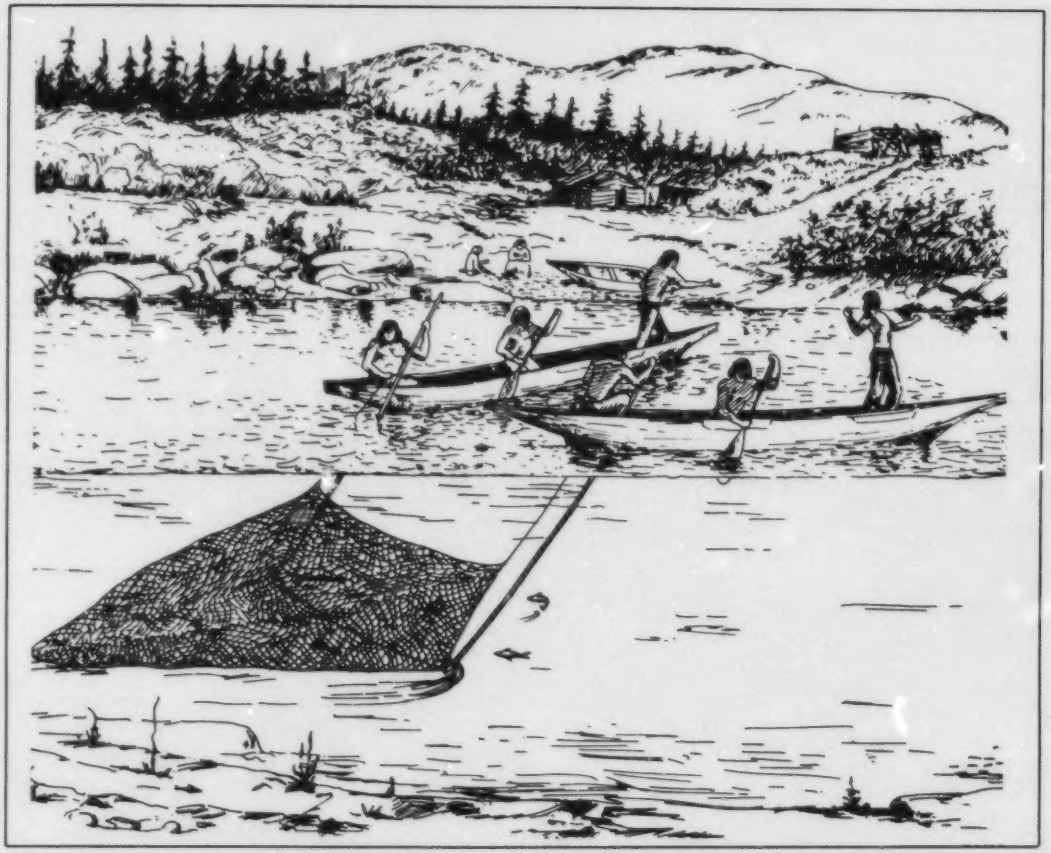
The course of cooked food was served in dishes. These were wooden platters shaped somewhat like a canoe though they were flat on the bottom. A dish might be a foot and a half or two feet long and in one corner of it stood the oil dish. The guests ate with ladles made sometimes of wood or mountain goat horn, and some used clam shells. Well bred people sipped delicately from the tips of their spoons, never opening their mouths wide enough to show their teeth.

After the cooked food course, again came the wooden "finger bowl" and the cedar bark "napkin." Then, if this were a gala meal there might be a dessert of dried berries, again with oil. After the final handwashing, the drinking bucket was passed around. No matter how salty the food, a well behaved person always waited for this. If he needed a drink during the meal it would be thought that he had eaten too much.

In the Plateau Region, traditional foods are still used about the same way they were originally. First food feasts are held to give thanks to the Creator for bringing another season of salmon, roots and berries.[1]

[1]Pace, Robert E. *The Land of the Yakimas*, pp. 43-45.

Men's Work



A bag net dragged down the river by two canoes.

The basis for the economy of the Indian tribes in Washington state was fish. The salmon ran thickly in natural abundance from almost every river and stream. Fish formed the basis of nearly all aspects of tribal life. Fish were so plentiful they were used as a medium of trade in Coast, Puget Sound and Plateau regions.

Fishing to Indian people was, and is, more than a livelihood. It is part of their culture and life. The right to fish was so important that during the 1850s, at treaty time, it was specifically reserved and not transferred to the United States.[1]

[1]Native American Solidarity Committee, *To Fish in Common* (Native American Solidarity Committee, Seattle Chapter, 1978). Concise summation of history of fishing.

The Indian's canoe was a necessity for obtaining his living. Without it, he would have had no chance to trade, to visit or to go to war. People often think of an Indian canoe as being made of birchbark but the Northwest Indians never saw such a canoe, nor would it have been much use to them in the rough waters of the Pacific Ocean.

Their canoes were dug out of the trunks of cedars, sometimes fifty feet long and six or eight feet thick. The largest ones could carry eight to ten thousand pounds or twenty to thirty people. Dugout canoes had various shapes and sizes. On the beach before an Indian village, you might see five or six different kinds drawn up, turned over and covered with mats to protect them from the sun. Those that the men were using might be floating in the cove, tied to a sharp

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CANOE SHAPES AND PADDLES

Northwestern canoe shapes:

(A) Sea-going canoe, 30 to 50 feet long. Cross section as at (G) below. Note the "sitting pieces" sewed on at bow and stern.

(B) Freight canoe for rivers. Shorter and shallower than (A).

(C) Hunting canoe, about 10 feet long. The cross section in the center is like (G) but at the bow the hull is sharpened so that it practically has a keel.

(D) Shovel-nose canoe, for rivers, flat and shallow. Cross section at (H).

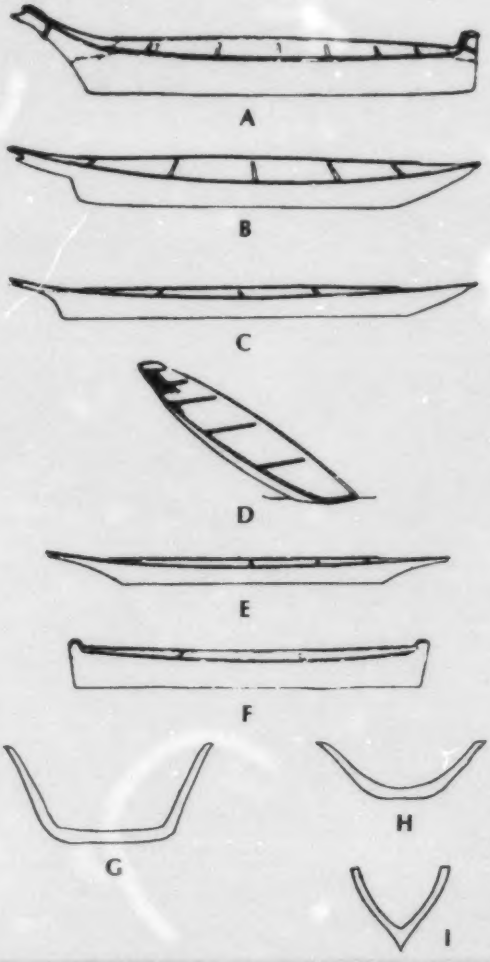
(E) One-man canoe for duck hunting. Sharp cutwater at bow and stern as in figure (I).

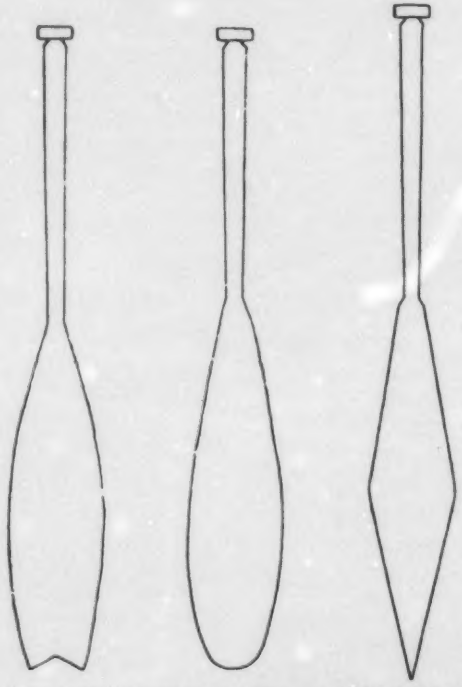
(F) Knock-about canoe used for sealing and, recently, for racing.

(G) Cross section of (A), (B), (C).

(H) Cross section of (D).

(I) Cross section of (E), (F).





Canoe paddles. Center one is the usual shape. Notched one fits over a tow rope. Pointed one is driven into the beach as a stake for canoe.

Coast fishermen.

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pointed paddle which was driven into the ground like a stake. They made the sharp ended canoes for rough water and blunt ended ones for still water. The sharp ended canoe cut through the water like a wedge or a yacht; the blunt ended one pushed the water away like a scow or ferryboat. The sharp ended canoes were used by the whalers and ocean travelers who needed large, heavy craft, able to breast high waves.

One secret of the construction was the extra, curved projections at bow and stern, carved from a separate piece of cedar and attached with pegs. These added pieces gave the canoe the effect of a living creature and Indians said "it was like a salmon, flat and wide in the middle, tapering and curving up at both ends." The bow end projected most, since this must spread the oncoming seas. In landing, when the breakers caught the canoe from behind, it was turned around and brought in stern first.

The smaller canoes were used for river work and fishing. They were of the same general construction as the larger ones.

The blunt ended canoe was for upriver people. It must have been invented for sliding over sandbars and being poled and pushed through little streams. It was shallow and round bottomed and looked much like a tray. The ends of this canoe were cut straight across and were carved or built out into little platforms where a man could stand to spear fish, looking straight down into the water, while another man paddled from the middle of the boat. The White man called the blunt ended canoe a "shovel nose."

Not every man could make a canoe. Generally there was one or two in each village who could make them better and they were paid for their work. Perhaps they had spirit helpers. A man might save furs for years in order to visit that land of specially big cedars and order the craft he wanted. The canoe maker had to choose a log which was the right length and of even thickness all the way, without branches. For the big seagoing canoes, this meant a giant tree. The canoe was made from half the log, split lengthways or perhaps, a little more than half. It was roughly shaped and hollowed out by splitting off slabs with the wedges. The fine work was done by patient charring with fire and hacking off the charcoal with an improvized adze.

The canoe maker measured entirely by eye until the dugout was nearing its final shape. Then he bored holes through the sides at intervals and thrust a stick through to measure their thickness. Later, he plugged these holes with pieces of wood. The log had not only to be hollowed out but to be shaped and curved. For this, the canoe maker used cooking methods. He poured the canoe almost full of water and then put hot stones into it. Also, he built a fire under it and, between the two the wood was steamed until it was soft and pliable. Meantime the worker cut stout pieces of yew wood, just the width the canoe was to have at various points along its length. At the center, it would be considerably wider than the original log, while it would taper at both ends. He wedged these sticks between the gunwhales, like seats, so that they kept the sides bulging. Then he dipped out the water and allowed the canoe to dry in its curved shape. Finally, the thwarts were fastened tightly to the sides of the canoe, by cedar withes, passed through holes in thwart and gunwhale. Most canoes had extra sitting pieces pegged on at one end or both. The inside of the canoe was usually colored red. The Indians made a sort of oil paint by mixing red ochre with fish or seal oil as modern paint is mixed with linseed oil. After being smoothed with shark skin, the exterior was charred lightly with a cedarbark torch. This singed off roughness and left it black.

Canoes in the Plateau area were sometimes made from the bark of the white fir, with ribs of bluewood. The dugout canoe in this region was made from yellow pine. The dugout was about two feet wide and 12 to 30 feet long.[3]

Paddles were made from yew or maple wood and polished smooth with sharkskin. The sketch shows how some were pointed at the end, so that they could be dug into the beach or bank to hold the canoe. Others were notched, so as to fit over a rope when the canoe was being towed.

Fishing technique not requiring a canoe.

[3]Yanan, Eileen. *Coyote and the Colville*, pp. 23-28.

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MEN'S CARVING IN WOOD AND HORN

Top: A horn bowl made by the Chinook.
Center: Ladle made from a knot of wood.
Bottom: Cradle dug out of a cedar log. Carved decoration.

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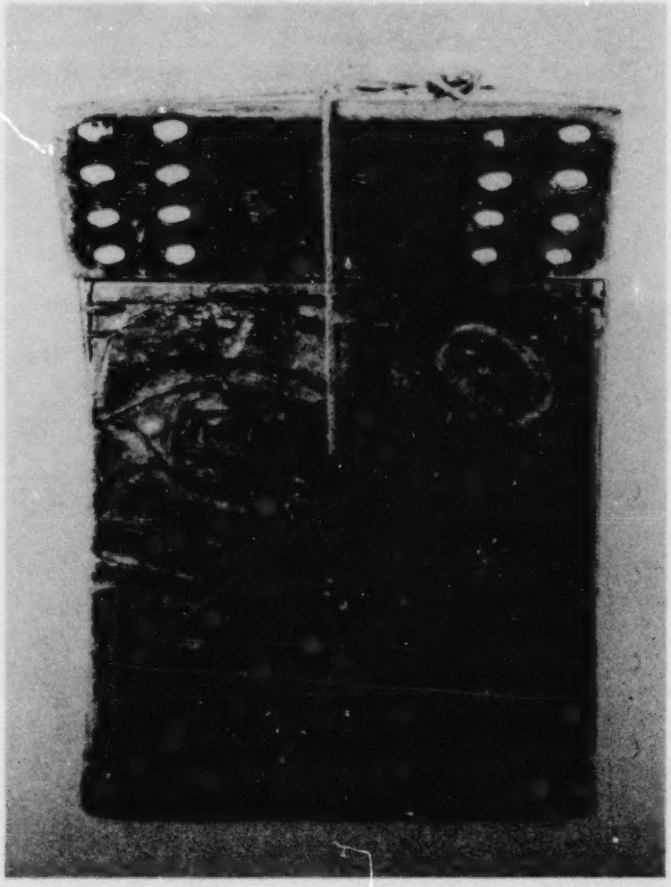
ART OF WOODWORKING

Indian men of the Coast and Puget Sound used their art of woodworking for all sorts of purposes. The commonest were the serving trays, which looked very much like a shovel nose canoe. Large ones for feasting might be three or four feet long and the individual ones a foot or less. Poor people's trays were roughly hollowed out but fine ones were polished and sometimes inlaid around the edge with shell or sea otter teeth. A good carver made bowls for fish oil, out of yew, alder or maple knots, instead of using clam shells. He also carved wooden ladles. Some ladles were used for serving from the tray and some were used like a cup from which they sipped their food.

The water bucket was a square box made out of cedar, with a wooden handle run through holes near its rim. Some used the water bucket for stone boiling, but the more northern tribes made them with lids. They were made without nailing or sawing. These square, solid looking buckets were made by steaming the soft wood, bending it into shape and then lacing it together. This meant boring a series of holes in the two pieces to be joined, then lacing them together with some form of stout cord, either rawhide or cedar rope. When the four sides of a box had been prepared in this way, the bottom was grooved and fitted in without lacing. Storage boxes, ranging in size from small, household sizes to larger ones carried in canoes, were made in the same fashion. Some were elaborately designed and carved, as the cedar not only lent itself to steam bending, but was also most suitable for carving.



Bentwood box. (Photo courtesy of The Smithsonian Institution.)

The most northern tribes of Washington, Clallam and Makah, made totem poles and wooden masks and other simple ceremonial objects. Sometimes the woodwork was painted red or black.

Lucky was the man who could get a huge mountain sheep horn from which he could make a spoon or a bowl with no more work than cutting out a section. For a bowl, the horn was steamed soft and cut into shape and figures were engraved on it, with a beaver tooth. The ladle was a shallow, oval spoon, keeping the curve of the horn. Its short handle might be plain, cut into openwork or even decorated with a little animal figure.

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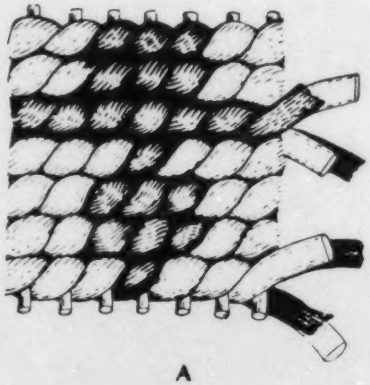
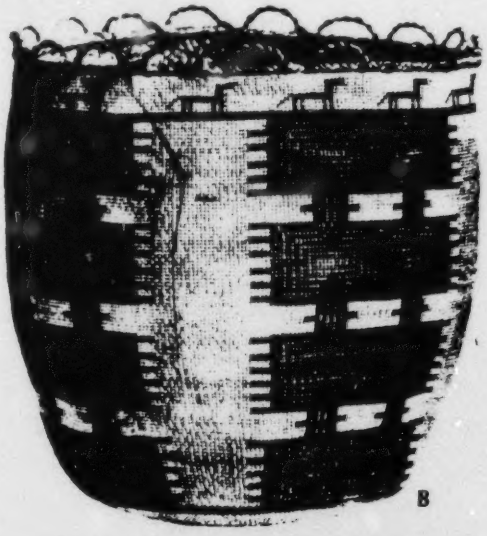
Women's Work

TWINED WEAVES IN BASKETRY

Overlay



A



B

Overlay was one of the methods for making a basket of coarse, strong materials, but covering the outside with fine, colored grass in bright patterns.

Figure A shows the method. Instead of the usual two weft strands, the workers used four; two strong ones and two decorative ones. In our area, the decorative strand was always laid along the outside of the actual weaving strand and kept there as the strand twisted, so that it always faced out. The result was a basket whose outside was all in glistening color (detail shown at B) while the inside showed only the plain spruce or cedar root.

This was a method popular in northern California, where the twined baskets were beautifully fine. The same method extended to the Oregon coast, often so like California. A few were made on Puget Sound and B, above, comes from the Skokomish. It is a large, flexible basket made of cattail, with an overlay of squaw grass in yellow and black.

A woman who needed to make baskets—and every woman did—began planning for it six months beforehand. Basketry was winter work, to be done when she could sit in the house for weeks at a time with her materials around her. These materials had to be gathered in the summer when each twig, root and grass used was at its best. Roots and twigs had to be soaked, peeled and split, grass cured and sometimes dyed. One Indian woman said, "when I begin to weave a basket my work is already half done."

The big trees were the mainstay for basketry, as they were for the rest of the household equipment. The roots and limbs of young cedars were peeled and split into strands as strong as wire; Indian women on the coast used the tough, slim roots of the spruce tree. For coarser work, they split the cedar bark into flat strips like tape, or dried the cattails and rushes. These formed the body of the basket. If it were close woven and allowed a field for decoration, a woman generally decorated it even though it were to be used only for cooking or storage. She might use rows of different kind of weaving but more often she added color. Experts have said the colored baskets of this region were the most handsome in America.

Colored grasses which were the Indian women's substitute for embroidery silks, were among her most valued possessions. She had to make long trips to the mountains for the shiny "bear grass" she might use in its natural cream

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color, or she might dye it yellow with the root of Oregon grape, or black with swamp mud. She flattened out the black stems of maidenhair fern. She peeled the bark of the wild cherry and rubbed it to a glossy dark red. On the beaches she found bone-white "shore grass," or black sea growths. Basketry was made by three methods: by twining, plaiting and coiling. Basket makers loved to vary their work with fancy edges and many varieties of stitch. One favorite method was the scalloped edge. False embroidery was a favorite decoration, the design showing only on the outside of the basket and the pattern slightly raised as in needlework. Sometimes the maker of a basket would weave in one or more bright strips of grass to make her basket different.

Basket maker. Canoes in background.

Woman using a basket to gather driftwood.

MATS

Mat making was a part of basketry and every woman had at least as many mats as baskets. She made them of cedar-bark strips, or tall, hollow cattails which grew so thick along quiet streams and lakes. The women gathered them from canoes in July and August and dried them in the sun. In winter, they strung these stalks side by side, with string made of nettle fibre or from cattail using a special needle for mat making. No woman could have too many cattail mats.

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Preparing basketry materials.

STRING AND PACKSTRAPS

A woman had to make not only her household containers, but even her string. This was a task, for she needed string to tie her bundles and make her mats, while hundreds of feet of it went into fish nets. The best string was made of nettle fibre. The stinging nettles with their four-sided stems grew thickly in damp places, and every fall, women brought in huge bundles of them. The stems were split into strips with a sharp thumbnail and hung up to dry five or six days. Then they were broken and the long, outside fibres pulled away from the pith. To get them really clean, and well separated, they were laid on a mat and beaten, then combed over the edge of a mussel shell or the rib bone of a bear.

When she was ready to make string, she soaked the fibres to make them flexible. In her left hand, she took two slender bunches of a few fibres each, holding them separate. With the palm of her right hand, she rolled the fibers slowly along her leg, so that each bundle was twisted. Then she pulled the hand quickly upward and the two bunches twisted together. This made a two-ply string. She also made a heavy cord to be used in carrying backloads. These packstraps fifteen to twenty feet long were made by braiding except for a length of two feet or more in the center, where the strap crossed the forehead or chest. Here the Indian woman made a checkerboard or twill pattern. Sometimes these front pieces were braided or twined in colored wool. A handsome carrying strap meant as much to the Indian as modern women think of their hats today.

NETS

Many a winter day was spent in making nets. All the fine ones were of nettle strings and a woman kept little pieces of wood cut to different lengths to measure the size mesh she would make. A fine string net was almost invisible in the water but it often broke and the net maker had to keep mending it all summer.

WEAVING

The Puget Sound woman made her own yarn for weaving and she had a real loom which was made of wood. They used mountain goat wool which was an ideal source of wool, for it was fine, straight and very soft. The goat lived in mountains almost impossible for man to climb, and hunters say he is harder to approach than any other big game animal.

There were goats in the Rocky Mountains, where few Indians ever climbed and there were some in the Cascades. Salish Indians along the Fraser River sometimes hunted them and traded the hides to the Coast Indians. More often, they searched over the hillsides in spring and summer when the goats were shedding. Then, almost every bush might bear a tuft of fur, rubbed off as the animal passed.

DOG WOOL

Wool dogs were a special breed, kept separate from the house and hunting dogs. When their fleece was hacked off with a mussel shell knife it was so thick you could lift it up by one corner like a mat. There are none of these dogs to be seen now. Indians do not even remember how they looked for they became extinct about the time the gold rush swamped the country in 1858. Early explorers say they were small and white, sometimes a brownish black. They resembled the Pomeranian or similar type breeds, of oriental origination.

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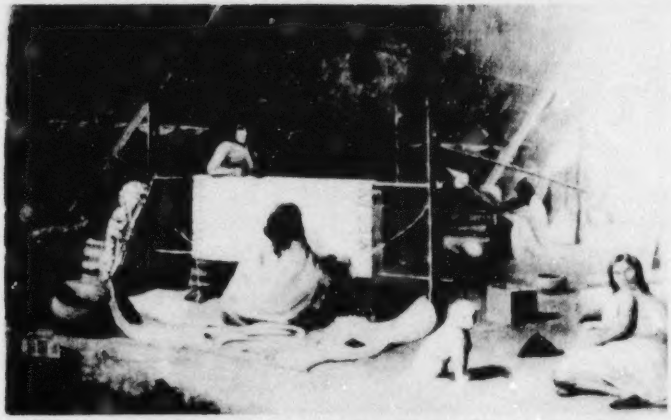

In the foreground is a woman weaving. At the right is one of the little white wool dogs.

Dogs belonged to the woman and a woman's wealth was judged by the number she owned. She kept them penned up like sheep and fed and watered them daily. The shearing was repeated two or three times a summer and even then it was hard to get wool enough for blankets. Dog wool was mixed with goat wool, goose down and with the fluff of the fireweed plant. These materials, in any proportion obtainable, were then laid on a mat and sprinkled with a fine white clay. This was a prized possession, to be found in only a few places and women kept balls of it for which they traded. The weaver beat the clay and fibres together with a flat, smooth piece of wood that had a handle like a sword. The clay helped take the grease from the wool and to whiten it, for dog wool was not as white as mountain goat wool. Next she combed the fibres out with her fingers and rolled them on her leg as she did nettle bark. Then it was ready for spinning. Her spindle was a smooth stick three or four feet long. At its lower end was a whorl of carved wood to keep the strands from slipping. She looped her yarn over a drying rack and balanced the big spindle on her knee to twirl it. The resulting thread was a loose, soft twist, as thick as a man's finger. When this was used for the whole blanket, it made an enormously heavy rug. Often she used nettle string for the warp, its thin brown lines being almost buried under the heavy fluff of the wool. Occasionally the warp was cedarbark or goat wool.

BLANKETS

The Salish blanket, only a few of which are left anywhere in the country, was ten or twelve feet long if it were to be used for bedding. A five or six foot piece made a mantle. Usually it was white but there might be some wool from a brownish black dog or bear wool worked into a border or into a few wide strips. Occasionally these crossed each other in a large plaid.

There was not much color until the whites brought yarn in trade. Clallam and Cowlitz women made a few really beautiful blankets; however, there was no one to encourage them to make these for sale as were Indians in the Southwest. They found they could get Hudson Bay blankets with far less trouble, and so they gave up the art some 75 years ago. Had that not happened, Salish blankets might have been as famous as those of the Navaho.

PLATEAU BASKETS AND CORNHUSK BAGS

Baskets were made by coiling cedar root bark fibers. These baskets served many purposes: storage, gathering roots and berries, and they were used for cooking.[1]

The cornhusk bag is a flexible handwoven bag made by the Indian women of the Plateau Region. The bag was valued as a trade item because of the convenience for carrying trade items on horseback, gathering and storage, and they were easily stored when not in use. The cornhusk techniques and materials were also used to make fold-over pouches, hats and horse regalia.[2]

A WOMAN'S EQUIPMENT FOR FOOD GATHERING

While an Indian mother worked, her baby was well protected from the elements in his cradle board. Originally in the Plateau Region, the boards were made of dry pine boards. As a baby outgrew a small board, a larger cradle board would be constructed.[3]

Food gathering tools for women were similar in all regions. The digging stick is still used by Plateau women during the spring to dig the roots for the yearly feasts and celebrations.

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[1]Yanan, Eileen. *Coyote and the Colville*, pp. 23-28.

[2]Cheney Cowes Memorial Museum. *Cornhusk Bags of the Plateau Indians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 1-3. See this booklet for a thorough history of cornhusk bags.

[3]Yanan, Eileen. *Coyote and the Colville*, pp. 23-28.

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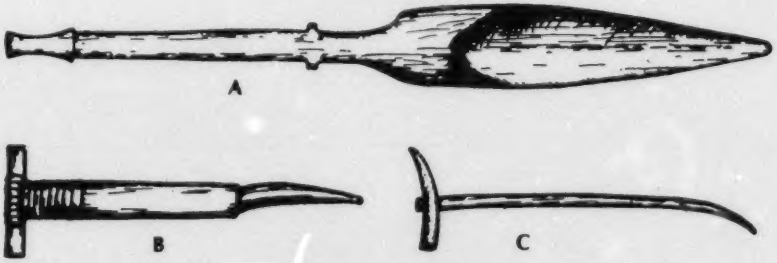
Contemporary cradle board.



(A) Digging stick for large shellfish.
(B) Stick for small shellfish.
(C) Stick for roots.

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How They Dressed

Clothing was fairly well standardized in the Coast and Puget Sound regions, though there were differences owing to changes in the weather or indicating social status. In mild seasons men wore either nothing or a robe or blanket thrown over the back and fastened across the chest with a string. The woman wore fibre skirts that were about knee length, strung on a cord and fastened with several rows of twining. Upriver women whose husbands did a great deal of hunting, had the same shaped skirt in buckskin. Most women had some sort of upper garment, either for rain or for special occasions. This might be a short poncho or even a sleeveless jacket.

ROBES

Men, women and children had raincapes and mantles. The raincapes were light and practical. The Makah, who made so many cedarbark mats, also made finely woven checkerboard ponchos. Cold weather robes were made from almost any skin of bird or beast. Early explorers were amazed at the beautiful mantles of lynx and sea otter worn by the Indians who came aboard their ships, and it was the sight of these furs, handsomer than those worn by the people of Europe, which first brought the white men to trade.

HUNTER'S CLOTHING—SHIRTS, LEGGINGS AND MOCCASINS

Cedarbark and fur were the clothing of seashore and downriver people. The upper river people, who hunted a great many deer, needed skin clothing for protection against the forest brush. The Indian hunter who lived on the slopes of the Cascades wore buckskin clothing most of the year. The Indians east of the Cascades wore a short shirt coming to the waist, not the hips. It was made of an oblong of deerskin, with a hole for the head and sewed up at the sides. Sometimes short sleeves were sewed in and the seams were decorated with fringe. With this the man often wore a skin apron or breechcloth, a narrow strip of buckskin, passed between the legs and hanging over a belt in front and back.

Leggins were tubes of buckskin, sewn at the sides and sometimes fringed. Washington Indians report their coming to mid-thigh and being attached to the belt with buckskin

CEDARBARK CLOTHING

Figure A shows a woman dressed in cedarbark, with twined rain cape and fringed skirt.

Her cape, in this case, is cut as an oblong, with one rounded edge, (the top). It might be a segment of a circle, a long strip with a hole in the middle, or a cone shape, the wearer's head coming through the small end. The wrap was laid in place to form one of these shapes and then put together with rows of twining. In rough capes, the warp was cattail or tule, with twining three or four inches apart. In better ones, it was finely shredded cedarbark, with nettle cord twining, less than an inch apart. The neck might be edged with fur.

Figure B shows the skirt, made of soft, narrow strips of bark, one-fourth to one-half inch wide and 3 or 4 feet long. These were doubled over a nettle string cord and fastened in place with two or three rows of twining. The cord over which the fringe was doubled was left long and tied at the side. The skirt hung about to the knees and was usually longer in the back.

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straps. Moccasins were made from one piece of deerskin with the fur inside.

HEADGEAR AND HAIR DRESSING

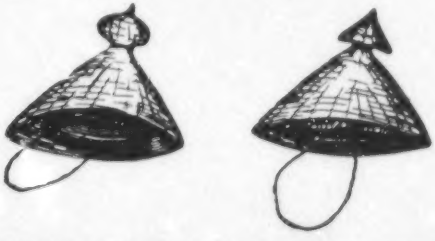
For winter, all the people made caps of animal or birdskins. A whole loon skin made a handsome cap as did the skin of a raccoon with the tail hanging down the back. When people wore no hats, they generally held their flowing hair in place with a headband of fur, wool or cedarbark. Sometimes it was prettily woven, like a packstrap. For ceremonies, they might stick a few feathers in it but these stood upright in front or at the two sides, never in back as we see them in the Sioux pictures. The headband was to keep the hair out of their eyes, for many people wore it loose, parted in the middle and with a streak of red ochre down the part on special occasions. They tell of a Quinault chief whose hair was so long that when he knelt in the canoe the ends floated in the water.

Hair was washed in a solution of snowberries, vetch roots and probably other plants. The Puyallup used salmon eggs and also a tea of maidenhair fern, which they said kept the hair from falling out. Hair was combed with a finely polished wooden comb, about four inches wide and with teeth two or three inches long.

HATS

The hats of the Northwest coast were unique; they were worn only on the coast of Washington. They look so like Chinese coolie hats that some students have wondered if they were copied from specimens washed up from shipwrecked junks in the years before white men arrived.

The illustration, from the Quinault, shows a complicated form, with the inner skull cap and outer cone-shaped hat joined at the top where the knob is.



ORNAMENTS, PAINT, TATTOOING AND BEAUTY CARE

People wore as many necklaces as they do at present and more earrings and other ornaments. A favorite necklace was the dentalium shell, fished up by the Indians of Vancouver Island. Dentalium shell is a slender white tusk an inch or two long and strings of it were used for money. A necklace long enough to hang to the knees was a sign of wealth. Other necklaces were made with beaver teeth, clamshells, slivers of blue-green abalone shell, or the curved brown bear claws.

Men and women both wore earrings. Men wore further ornaments. They had a hole through the nose and wore a dangling bit of abalone shell. If very rich, the man might have a hole in his lower lip where he wore a bit of shell or ivory. This was not for the common people, it showed bad manners. They would have been laughed at and insulted and probably some rich man would tear the ornament out.

PLATEAU REGION CLOTHING

The hides of deer, cured into buckskin, provided the main clothing, and was worn year-around. Thicker layers from buffalo and elk were used for warmth in winter. Wolf, fox, otter, coyote, beaver, mink, bear, goat and groundhog skins were also used for clothing.[1]

Men hunted the animals and skinned them, but it was women's work to tan and sew the hides into clothing.[2]

Children and adults dressed alike. The buckskins were decorated with a selection of porcupine quills, shells, paint, horsehair embroidery, bone beads or feather quills.[3]

Some tribes used the outer bark of sage brush and wove it into material for skirts for the women. The bark of willow and cedar trees was also used for skirt material.[4]

Plateau clothing.

[1]Yanan, Eileen. *Coyote and the Colville*, pp. 23-28.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Ibid.
[4]Ibid.

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TATTOOING WAS A PERMANENT ORNAMENT

The general method of tattooing was to prick holes in the skin and then rub charcoal into them. This was done by an expert. Both men and women did tattooing and each expert had his favorite instrument, which might be a sharpened bone or a thorn and his favorite kind of charcoal, devil's club, alder or dogwood.

Everyone painted himself on dress occasions. Paint was made of colored powder, mixed with deer tallow or whale oil. It was not only decorative but it kept the body warm and served as a sort of cold cream against chapping and windburn. The colors used were red, black and white.

Modern people talk about old-time Indians as though they had been careless and dirty but they were especially careful of their appearance. From the plants they made cosmetics and beauty aids. True, they sometimes did dirty work but they had plenty of water to wash in and they washed often using a soap made by bruising leaves of mock orange or boiled thimbleberry bark. There were separate bathing places in the river for men and women and everyone went there as soon as he awakened. One who wanted to please the spirits must be really clean.

Most readers have heard about an Indian sweathouse. It was a dome-shaped structure of interlaced willow branches, just big enough for one person and covered with earth. The bather crawled in, and someone outside heated rocks in the fire and passed them in to him. He poured water on the rocks and got a steam bath. Many Indians made a ceremony of this bath and used it to make themselves pure for the spirits. The Indians of the far north pleased the spirits by bathing in some cold rushing stream.

Stages of Life

BABY CARE

There were no Indians who took more pains with baby care than the Northwesterners. They even had special baby doctors. This was not true in every group but, in many, there were men and women who had visions, teaching them how to treat infants' diseases. Some even understood the language of babyland. Babyland was the explanation given to account for the helplessness and danger of the first year of life. Baby souls, they thought, had a land of their own, where they lived and played without adults. When an infant came to earth, he was still talking the language of this land, though he forgot it in time. If he liked the life on earth, he grew to manhood. His soul grew too and, when he died, it went to the regular land of the dead. If he did not like the life on earth, his soul went back to babyland. If the parents it had left were truly sorry and wanted another child, it might come to them again. This time, however, it would come in a baby of the opposite sex.

It was important, therefore, to keep a baby happy and to learn what he liked and disliked. The duty of the "child specialist" was to interpret the little one's wants. Sometimes he or she told the parents that the infant did not like the name they had given him. Or he knew that some ceremony was being done wrongly. The specialist also ordered, as modern doctors do, that the child must be kept away from others who were ill. A sick child might tell its friend, in baby language: "I am not happy here. Let us go back to babyland." It had been noticed that when one infant died, several others often died also. They told the parents the home must be kept happy. Quarreling and unkind thoughts could make a baby ill.

The baby spent the first year of his life on a cradleboard. This was the case with all American Indians. The boards were of various shapes and some were made of basketry, some of wood. Indians of the Northwest preferred their favorite cedar wood. They used a section of slender trunk and hollowed it out like a canoe or a wooden serving dish. Then they filled it with shredded cedar bark. In this, the naked baby was bedded as carefully as a jewel. His feet were placed higher than his head, since this was good for digestion. There were pads under neck and knees and most important of all, a pad across his forehead.

The pad across his forehead was for beauty purposes. The baby was to grow up with a forehead that was broad and flat, rising to a peak at the top of the head. This was done by using a pad of soft cedarbark, with a board over it which was strapped across the forehead. If left there for the first few months, while the bones were soft, it set them in the right shape, without hurting the child. Mothers did this as dutifully as modern mothers put braces on a child's teeth. Otherwise the little one would have a head "like a rock" or worse yet, like a slave. The broad forehead and the cone-shaped head were a mark of high class.

Every day the baby was taken out for bathing and massage. After the baby had been cleaned, he was rubbed with oil made from whale or dogfish or a kind of crane which they killed for oil. For baby powder they used willow ash or red ochre. A mother massaged her baby's arms and legs so they would be straight and his ears so they would not stick out. She even pinched his nose into the high narrow shape they preferred.

The cradleboard was a practical arrangement for a mother as she could take the baby with her when she went about doing her daily work. She could pick the board up quickly without fear of hurting the child's delicate back and lean it against a tree or rock while she worked. When moving about, she wore the board strapped across her shoulder by a long cord.

When the baby was ready to walk, he left the cradleboard, except at night and when he had his nap. When he was this old he was left at home with his grandparents who delighted in petting him. Old people of the village played with the children for this was one of the pleasures of age. They sang songs. The songs they sang told the child gently or jokingly what he was supposed to do when he grew up. Life in these early years was all affection, for people felt that a child was not ready to understand much until he was five or six. When five or six, he left his grandparents and went around after the father or mother learning to do grown-up tasks. Now the grandfather might make the boy a bow and arrow for shooting at small birds. The grandmother proudly wove the little girl's first berry basket.

They were likely to grow up, and they must be prepared for life in the hard world. They were taught not to cry for food and to eat what was given them. Now they were given the food less desirable, as that made children strong. The best food was for old people. Indian children were taught not to make a noise in the house and not to interrupt older people. Children who did this might lose their souls. When they disobeyed they were switched, but the parents had a better means of discipline than that. They were told there was a Cannibal Woman, carrying a basket on her back, who carried off bad children to be cooked and eaten. The Puyallup actually dressed up someone to represent her.

When she came stamping around the village, parents pleaded with her for the naughty ones, promising that they would be sure to improve.

Very soon after they were 6, children began a course of training that in some places amounted to a school. Its chief purpose was to prepare them for the spirit help that every boy, and some girls, too, would need in later life. Without spirit help, no boy could hope to be a good woodworker, fisherman, hunter, whaler, medicine man or even a gambler. To obtain spirit help he must learn to go without food, to endure pain and cold, and to be clean.

Older relatives and neighbors could always take time to have a child underfoot. Little girls pricked their fingers in the berry patch and little boys scrambled after their fathers through the woods. They were not told much about how things should be done but they watched others and tried for themselves. When they failed they were not scolded but when they succeeded, there was high praise. When a boy caught his first fish or a little girl first filled her basket with berries some tribes gave a feast for every "first." The food they brought in was proudly given to the old people who could not work for themselves. If they were selfish and kept it, they might never catch anything again. This was indeed good training for generosity in later life. By the age of ten his efforts were really counting. It was time for him to have a name.

NAMING

He would have various names in the course of his career, for most Indian people were called differently from time to time. A man was more likely to make a change if his family were rich and able to celebrate each occasion with a feast. Names were family property, either in the father's line or the mother's. Each was borne by only one person at a time and after his death it was not mentioned for some years. When naming time came there was a feast and gifts, but these were not for the child. They were given to others in his honor while he learned that making presents was the road to fame and fortune.

GROWING UP

A girl was grown up and ready for marriage at 14 or 15, a boy at 16 or 17. From the age of 10, they were preparing for this change and doing more grown-up work every year. Modern young people who, at 17, are looking for excitement at football games and dances, have no idea how childish they would have seemed to an Indian of those times. They had the excitement of responsibility.

MARRIAGE

Suitors proposed to a girl's father, who carefully looked up their families and income. The boy's family was just as particular. They wanted to know if she was their social equal, if she was well behaved and what gift of money would go with her.

A daughter's wedding was a father's chance to make one of the great shows of his lifetime. No wonder he began to collect goods for it as soon as she was born. All through the girl's childhood he was giving feasts. His aim was to establish such a reputation that suitors would come from afar. Marrying any relative was forbidden and the tribes were so small that most people in them were related. Girls marrying into other tribes prevented war.

Daughters sometimes eloped, but elopements were rare, for both the young people knew how unhappy they might be, spending the rest of their lives in the same house with a disapproving family. Every girl, too, looked forward to the impressive wedding she would have.

THE WEDDING

There was feasting and gift giving, and in wealthy families it never lasted less than three or four days. The groom's family came singing their inherited songs and bringing food and the last of the bride gifts. They were escorted to the house—all feasted and the old men of both families made speeches, telling the families' greatness and advising the bride and groom about proper behavior.

Sometimes feats of strength were held in which the bridegroom and his relatives showed how good they were. The Lummi had the bride sit on a pile of gifts while costumed dancers performed around her.

The departure of the bride was the high point of the performance. She was escorted to the beach by the men of her family, carrying gifts and singing. The groom and his family waited in their canoes. For a wealthy bride, the road to the beach was spread with fine furs so that her feet did not touch the ground. Then the furs were bundled up and put in the groom's canoe, and the groom and his family paddled away singing, while the bride's parents stood weeping on the beach.

When the wedding party was gone, the gifts were distributed. The bride's father kept very little of the bride price for himself. The same thing happened in the groom's family; of the gifts there was very little left for the young couple, but then, they were not going to set up housekeeping alone.

The bride found herself in another large house, much like the one she had left. The first year she spent her days with

her husband's mother and sisters much as she had with the women of her own family. Still, there were privileges in being a married woman. She could go out alone. She could speak to men, though it was not wise for a woman to be a great talker. She ought to be a good basket maker; then if her husband were away often, she would have her work to keep her busy.

Soon she would have the strange rules that must be obeyed before having a child. When the first baby was safely tied on its cradleboard, there was the visit home, in the canoes full of singing people, or else the welcoming of her family at her new village. The proud young mother could feel it was because of her that her family could establish this new friendship.

When the young couple had had a child or two, they moved out of the family compartment into one of their own. They were grown up. The young man might have his place in a whaling canoe or his section of the salmon weir. His wife went on long food-gathering trips without her mother-in-law. The older woman was now at home, taking care of the grandchildren.

OLD AGE, DEATH AND FUNERAL

Life slowly melted into old age, but the old were not useless and rejected people. They were the school teachers of the village. An old man was regularly appointed to train the youngsters. Old people were at least expected to tell the stories, remember the relationships and advise about the proper conduct of ceremonies. When someone must be chosen to make a proposal of marriage or to plead with a quarreling couple it was always an old man who had the time and experience for the task.

The old, both men and women, acted as caretakers for the little children. They played with them and sang to them by the hour, showing far more affection than they had had time for with their own babies. When the little grandsons and granddaughters performed their first achievements, it was for the old to praise and encourage them. Nor were the old left out on social occasions. In fact, they sang and danced more than anyone.

As soon as a man ceased to work he generally turned over his canoe or his hunting dogs to a son or other relative. Before death, he told his family what to do with his slaves or wealth not given away in feasts. His personal property, they knew, would go to the grave with him. Beyond the grave, he would become a different person and one whom they did not dare remember. It was not that the dead were evil, for they did not believe in any devil or hell. They thought that all adults alike went to the land of the dead which was a comfortable place, with plenty to eat.

The last rites were conducted in several different ways, and the relatives showed their grief. Silence was not their way of showing grief; they wailed and chanted sometimes for five days while the soul of the dead was on its journey to the land of the dead. Widows and widowers mourned for a year.

At every point in the description of family life, we have had to mention whether a family was rich or poor.

The first family was that of the "Chief." After the chief came a group of the richer family heads. These were like the nobles of Europe, or more like the millionaires of America, who have no titles, but rise to power because they are rich. When the money goes, the family is forgotten. They rose to power by their own efforts, but these were a little more productive than the work of the businessman who merely buys and sells. The woman collected dried fish and dried roots and made blankets and baskets sufficient to trade. The man might be a skilled woodworker, a harpooner or an elk hunter. These last three professions were so important that many tribes forbade them to slaves and would not let poor people learn them.

In a few tribes, a man might get rich by collecting slaves. Gambling was almost a business, which we might compare more to the stock exchange than to mere card playing. Men obtained spirit power for it, and they played representing their village against some other village. Their fellow citizens invested in betting on them as men today buy stocks. A gambler could win a fortune for himself and his friends, or he could be wiped out, even selling himself into slavery. Some tribes had names for four classes: chiefs, rich, ordinary men and poor. The poor were not actually starving, for they could always get fish, roots and berries.

SLAVES

Some Indians took slaves in war and went out on purpose to get them. Peaceful tribes were glad to buy slaves. The method of slave raiding was for a canoe full of tough warriors to creep up on a small camp at night when the people were asleep. They tried to kill the men before they could get to their arms. If not, they must be killed in a fight, for there was no use trying to make a grown man a slave. He would be rebellious. Nor were the old people and babies any good, for they could not work. They too, were killed or, perhaps, just left. The desirable slaves were young women and girls, also boys of 10 or 12, able to work but too young to resist.

Slave life itself was not so bad, for they lived in the house with the family. They had the same food and clothes. Slaves were called by terms of relationship such as my little sister, my little brother. The word "little" meant that a person was looked down upon. They did the hardest work at fishing, paddling and carrying wood and water. They had the coldest beds, and they ate after the family, taking what was left. They were not whipped, starved or punished. The real sorrow of a slave was that he could not rise in the world. Wandering tribes who lived from hand to mouth could not afford to feed a slave, nor would they have extra work for him to do.

TRADE—SHELL MONEY

There was some trade going on all the time. Upriver people would come down in their shovel nose canoe or walk over the mountain passes, shouldering their valuable mountain sheep skins, sheep horns and buckskin. Downriver people were ready with dried seafood, but they also had imported goods. Big canoes from the north had been calling in with their loads of kidnapped slaves, their handsome wood carvings and sometimes the unique shells, used as money.

Dentalium is the scientific name for these slender little white shells. Indians called them "money beads." They were an inch or two long and they made a pretty necklace. Being hard to get, the supply was limited. They were found only in the deep water off Vancouver Island where they, or the little creatures inside, clung upright to the rocks. The Nootka went out in canoes and laboriously fished them up. Then they peddled them up and down the coast. Even the Indians of northern California imported their shell money all the way from Vancouver Island.

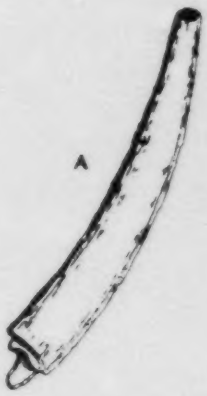
We have spoken of shell money because that was the common term, but it is not really accurate (nor, by the way, is wampum, for that means the clamshell token system of some eastern Indians). Dentalium was, indeed, used in exchange, but so were skins, slaves and blankets. The shells were strung in lengths of about 6 feet. The fine, two-inch shells, which were the most valuable, ran about 40 to the string; smaller ones ran 60 to the string. One string, some authorities say, was worth a slave.

The strings were mixed with beads and worn as ornaments. Then a man wanting to trade or gamble had his money at hand. Inland people rarely got the good shells, which the coast dwellers liked to keep for themselves. They used them mostly for ornament; one could tell a necklace from across the mountains by the small and broken shells.

The far north tribes brought dentalium, slaves, dogfish oil, carved dishes and the big handsome canoes, their edges inlaid with shells. They traded them with the Makah for whale oil and dried halibut. They took the goods down to the Quinault and traded for sea otter skins, or perhaps to the Chinook for dried shellfish and Columbia River salmon. The Chinook, however, did not trade only their own products.

They were at the mouth of the Columbia River, a great water highway, stretching far up into the fur country. Hunters came down all the little streams to paddle down the Columbia and, at last, leave their goods with the Chinook. For this reason the Chinook became the greatest traders of all the Indians. They received goods from the north and west, and sometimes they traveled to get them, in their own sea-going canoes. Little by little they impressed their language on all the other tribes. No one knows when the "Chinook Jargon" came into use, but it was first noticed about 1810.

Dentalium or "Shell Money"



A is the dentalium shell as it grows on the rocks, under water. It slants about as shown, the small projection at the bottom being the "foot" by which the animal attaches itself to the rock. (D) is the implement which the Nootka pulled up the shells. It had a wooden handle (E) 10 or more feet long, with a number of slender wooden slats (B) attached at its bottom, like a broom. When not in use, the slats were kept close together by a ring of cedarbark rope, (C).

The shell fishers paddled their canoe to a point over the shell bed and let down this "broom." As it went down, the pressure of the water forced the ring up, off the slats. They separated and could then be pressed down over the shell bed, catching any shells which were in their way and pulling them loose. The broom was then drawn up and the pressure of the water as it rose forced the ring down, holding the slats together. This is a most ingenious way of using natural forces to perform a very complicated movement.

CHINOOK JARGON

The Indian trade language of the Columbia River region and the adjacent Pacific Coast was known as "Chinook Jargon." It was first brought to public notice in the early days of the Oregon fur trade, about 1810. In addition to the Indian elements, it has now incorporated numerous words from various European languages, but there can be no doubt that the jargon existed as an intertribal medium of communication long before the advent of the Whites, having its parallel in the so-called "Mobilian language" of the Gulf tribes and the sign language of the plains, all three being the outgrowth of an extensive aboriginal system of intertribal trade and travel. The Indian foundation of the jargon is the Chinook proper, with Nootka, Salish, and other languages, to which were added, after contact with the fur companies, corrupted English, French and possibly Russian terms. The following table shows the share of certain languages in the jargon at various periods of its existence, although there are great differences in the constituent elements of the jargon as spoken in different parts of the country:

Words Contributed	1841	1863	1894
Nootka	18	24	23
Chinook	111	221	198
English	41	67	570
French	34	94	153
Other languages	48	79	128

There is much local variation in the way Chinook was spoken in the Pacific Northwest. This jargon has been of great service to both the Indian and the White man, and its role has been important in the development of intertribal and interracial relations on the North Pacific coast.

On the following pages you will find a list of the most commonly used words of the "Chinook Jargon."

CHINOOK JARGON

A List of the Most Commonly Used Words

ahnkuttie ..... afterwhile
alki ..... soon
alta ..... now
ats ..... younger sister
boat ..... boat

book ..... book
boston ..... American
by-by ..... by and by
canim ..... canoe
capo ..... coat

chako ..... to come
chee ..... lately
chickamin ..... metal, money
chickchick ..... wagon
chitsh ..... grandfather
chope ..... grandmother
chuck ..... water
cly ..... cry
cole ..... cold, winter, year
cooley ..... to run
cosho ..... hog
court ..... court
cultus ..... worthless, nothing

delate ..... straight, direct, true
dly ..... dry
doctin ..... doctor
dolla ..... dollar, money
dutchman ..... German

elip ..... first, before
enati ..... across

get-up ..... rise, risen
glease ..... grease

hahlakl ..... wide open
halo ..... not, none
haul ..... to haul, pull
heehee ..... to laugh, laughter
help ..... help
hoolhool ..... house
house ..... house
hullel ..... to shake
huloima ..... other, another
humm ..... bad odor
huyhuy ..... exchange, bargain
hyak ..... swift, fast, hurry
hyas ..... great, very
hyiu ..... much

ikpooie ..... shut
ikt ..... one, once
iktah ..... what
iktas ..... things
illahee ..... land
inapoo ..... louse
ipsoot ..... to hide
isick ..... a paddle
iskum ..... to take, receive
itlokum ..... the game of "hand"
itlwillie ..... flesh
iskwoot ..... bear

kah ..... where, whence, whither
kahkwa ..... like, similar
kahpho ..... elder brother
kahta ..... how, why, what
kalakala ..... a bird
kamas ..... scilla esculente
kamooks ..... a dog
kapswalla ..... to steal
katsuk ..... middle
kaupy ..... coffee
keekwulee ..... low, below
kalapi ..... to turn, return, up set
kimta ..... behind, after
king chautah ..... English
kish kish ..... to drive
kiuatan ..... a horse
klah ..... free, clear, in sight
klahanie ..... out of doors, out
klahowya ..... hello!
klahowwyum ..... poor, wretched
klahwa ..... slow, slowly
klak ..... off, out away
klaksta ..... who? what one?
klale ..... black
klaska ..... they, their, them
klatawa ..... to go
kliminawhit ..... a lie
klimmin ..... soft, fine
klip ..... deep
kliskwias ..... mat
klonas ..... perhaps
klone ..... three
kloshe ..... good
klosh-spose ..... shall, or may I
klootchmann ..... woman, female
ko ..... to reach, arrive at
kokshut ..... to break, broken

konaway ..... all, every
kopa ..... to, in, at, etc.
kopet ..... to stop, leave off
kow ..... to tie, fasten
kull ..... hard
kullaghan ..... fence
kupmtus ..... to know
kunamokst ..... both
kunjih ..... how many
kwahnesum ..... always
kwahtah ..... quarter
kwaist ..... nine
kwann ..... glad
kwass ..... afraid
kwinnum ..... five
kwolen ..... the ear

lo boos, or lo push ..... mouth
la caset ..... a box
la cloa ..... a cross
la gome ..... pitch, gum
lakit or lokit ..... four
la hahm ..... an oar
la lang ..... the tongue
laly ..... time
la messe ..... ceremony of the mass
la metsil ..... medicine
lammieh, or
lummieh ..... an old woman
la monti ..... a mountain
la peep ..... a tobacco pipe
la pellah ..... roasted
la plash ..... broad
la pome ..... apple
la pote ..... door
la tet ..... the head
la ball ..... the ball
law ..... law
la wen ..... oats
le jaub ..... devil
le kleh ..... key
le mah ..... hand
la mel ..... mule
le molo ..... wild
lee mooto ..... sheep
la pee ..... poot
la plet ..... priest
le sak ..... bag
le whet ..... a whip
lice ..... rice
liver ..... river

liplip ..... to boil
lolo ..... to carry
lowullo ..... round
lope ..... rope
lum ..... rum, whiskey

mahkook ..... to buy
mahish ..... to sell, to leave
masie ..... thanks
mahtlinnie ..... off shore
mahtwillie ..... in shore
mahlies ..... to marry
mama ..... mother
mamook ..... action, to work, to make, to do
man ..... man, male
melas ..... molasses
memaloost ..... to do, dead
mesachie ..... bad
mesika ..... you, your, yours
mika ..... thou, thy, thine
mime ..... down stream
mitlite ..... to sit, remain, to be, have
mitwhit ..... to stand
mokst ..... two
moola ..... mill
moolask ..... an elk
moon ..... moon, month
moosmoos ..... buffalo, cattle
moosum ..... to sleep, sleep
mowitsh ..... deer
muckamuck ..... food, to eat
musket ..... musket, gun

na ..... who, what, which
naha ..... a mother
nah ..... look here!
nanich ..... to see, look
nawitka ..... yes, certainly
nem ..... a name
nesika ..... we, us, our
newha ..... here, come here
nika ..... I, me, my, mine
nose ..... the nose

okoke ..... this, that, it
olallie ..... berries
oleman ..... old man old
olo ..... hungry
ooakut, or wayhut ..... roadway
ow ..... younger brother

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pahtl ..... full
paint ..... paint
papa ..... father
pasese ..... blanket, woolen cloth
pasiooks ..... French, Frenchman
p ..... and, but
pehpah ..... paper
pelton ..... a fool, insane
peshak ..... bad
pish ..... fire
pil ..... red
pilpil ..... blood
pish ..... fish
piupiu ..... to stink
poh ..... to blow, a puff of breath
polaklie ..... night
polallie ..... gunpowder, sand
poo ..... the sound of a gun
potlatch ..... a gift, to receive
pukpuk ..... a blow with the fist
pusspuss ..... a cat
saghalie ..... above, up
sail ..... sail, cloth, flag
sakoleks ..... trousers
sallal ..... the sallal berry
salmon ..... salmon, fish
salt ..... salt
sapolill ..... wheat, flour
seahhost ..... face, eyes
seahpo ..... hat
self ..... self
shame ..... shame
shantie ..... sing
ship ..... ship
shoes ..... shoes
shot ..... shot
sugah ..... sugar
siah ..... far
siam ..... the grizzly bear
sick ..... sick
sikhs ..... a friend
sinamokst ..... seven
siskiyou ..... a bob-tailed horse
sitkum ..... half, part
siwash ..... Indian
skin ..... skin
skookum ..... strong
slahal ..... a game, to gamble
snass ..... rain
solleks ..... angry, anger
sopena ..... to jump
spose ..... suppose, if
stick ..... stick, wood
stocken ..... stocking
stoh ..... loose, to untie
stone ..... stone
stotekin ..... eight
stutchun ..... sturgeon
sun ..... sun, day
sunday ..... Sunday, week

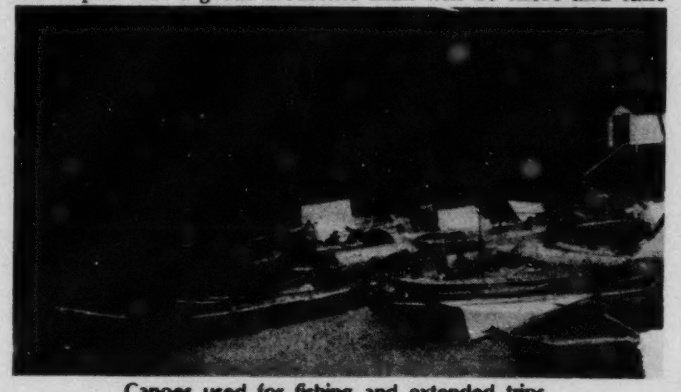
taghum ..... six
tahlkie ..... yesterday
tahtlum ..... ten
talapus ..... coyote, prairie wolf
tamahnous ..... magic, the spirits
tamolitah ..... barrel, tub
tanse ..... dance
tatoosh ..... milk
teahwit ..... leg, foot
tenas ..... small, few, little
thousand ..... thousand
tikegh ..... to want, to love
tiktik ..... a watch
till ..... tired, heavy
tintin ..... bell, o'clock
t'kope ..... white
tl'kope ..... to cut
toh ..... spitting
tolo ..... to earn, gain
tomolla ..... tomorrow
towagh ..... bright, shining
tsee ..... sweet
tseepie ..... to mistake
tsiatko ..... a demon, a witch
tsugh ..... a crack or split
tukamonu ..... hundred
tumtum ..... heart, will or mind
tumwata ..... waterfall
tupsshin ..... needle
tupso ..... grass
tyee ..... chief
tzum ..... spots, writing

wagh ..... to pour out
wake ..... no, not
wapatoo ..... potato
wash ..... to wash
washington ..... Washington
waum ..... warm
wawa ..... to talk
week ..... week
weght ..... again, also, more
winapie ..... soon, presently
wind ..... wind, breath, life

yahka ..... he, she, it, his
yahwa ..... there
yakso ..... hair
yiem ..... a story, to relate
youtl ..... proud, pleased
youtlkut ..... long
youtskut ..... short
yukwa ..... here

The Chinook zone ended at the Dalles, the 15-mile stretch of rapids where canoe travel in both directions had to stop. Here lived the last of the Chinook-speaking tribes, the Wishram, and every year they held a huge market or fair. The Yakimas held one out on the plains, where 6,000 Indians might camp in a circle six miles around. The people from the wet country met those from the dry country and exchanged goods from as far east as North Dakota and as far north as Alaska.

Let us follow a coastal family on such a trip. We will say that they are Twanah, Salish-speaking people from Hood Canal, and that they have been on the way for months. It happened that, by walking and paddling, they had got over to visit some relatives among the Cowlitz and there they had borrowed a canoe to go up the Columbia. It is something which may never happen in their lives again and they are full of excitement. They have no personal baggage except the clothes they wear. Nor do they need much food except a little dried salmon. They expect to fish and hunt on the way, not to mention being entertained. A good deal of the canoe space can be given up to trade goods and each person has something whose price will be his own. The father carries some sea lion stomachs full of seal oil traded from the coast. Also, he has a good string of dentalium and some horn spoons. He has thought of getting a horse in exchange but that would be useless in his country. Better a good slave or some of the buckskin clothes that are now the fashion. The mother has baskets of dried horse clams. Her own family consider them too tough to eat but she knows the inlanders are crazy for seafood. She hopes for some of the things that grow in dry country, like Indian hemp to make baskets and the bitterroot that tastes so different from camas. The young daughter has a basket or two and secret hopes of a necklace. The grandmother also has baskets, for which she is famous. She hopes that a great medicine man will be there and take



Canoes used for fishing and extended trips.

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time to give her a treatment. The young son, just back from his vision-seeking, has had little time to make anything, but he looks forward to the games and races.

The trip is leisurely, for they stop in bad weather and they fish and take side trips. They can tell the good camping places because there are usually other people there and every evening is a social occasion. One Clatsop canoe looks particularly rich with its bladders of seal oil. The father decides these people would make good in-laws, and he instructs his daughter to look especially modest. The mother lets her do all the cooking, so the young man of the other party can see. When he comes to their campfire the daughter works away with her eyes down, but just the same the two steal glances at each other.

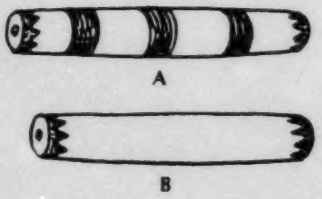
They pass the Cascades where they have to carry the canoe. It is two weeks of White man's time before they reach the Dalles. As they come near it, they find hundreds of canoes are pulled up on shore. A camp like this with its barking dogs, crying babies, neighing horses, captive wolves and coyotes howling, women running to and fro around a hundred campfires is an exciting place. Over at one side is the sound of music where one little group is dancing. At the other, the deep voices of men roar out in a gambling song, trying to ridicule and confuse their opponents.

The family unloads the cattail mats from the canoe and puts up a shelter near some other Sound people. They will stay a week or so and maybe exchange goods again and again. Dry country people have their shelters together at the other side of the camp and the Twanah family keeps edging over to look at them. They are covered from head to foot in buckskin, women and men both. Somehow, in her shy way, the daughter makes friends with a Yakima girl, conversing by sign language. She wants to try that dress. She cannot understand all the explanation but the Yakima is telling her that it is new and came from farther east. Dry country women are learning to sew buckskin and to fringe it. They even trim it with beads, traded from Whites, whom most of them have never seen. Daughter tries on the dress. It feels as heavy as a canoe on her shoulders, but that makes her want it all the more. No use for her mother to grumble saying, "When would you ever wear it, and you know that stuff shrinks if it's wet once."

"What do you think it's worth?" It is worth at least a slave or a canoe, far more than the women have. But a great piece of luck happens. Father wins at gambling. Father does not consider it luck, for he has help of Tsaik, the gambling spirit. He came on the trip expecting to make quite as much gambling as at trading, and he brought his own equipment. So did many other men, for the famous game that they play is quite as familiar across the mountains as on the coast. People do not need to speak the same language when they play it, for all they do is to hide some bone cylinders in their fists and guess which is which. It sounds simple, but wait until you see the poker face of the hider and the intense concentration with which the guesser watches every blink of his eye and twitch of his muscles. The women have their own game that keeps them busy, but the son stands behind his father, though he is too young to enter a game with skilled elderly men. Father and some of the Puget Sound men are playing against a group of Okanogan from across the mountains. The eyes of the coast people open at the goods

Northwestern Games of Chance

The Hand Game



These cylinders, from the Twana, are 2⅛ inches long, and about 1½ inches thick, bulging at the middle. The black decoration is made by engraving with a pointed stone tool, then filling the lines with soot. It varies according to the skill of the maker, but The Man (A) must always have a belt of decoration around the middle while The Woman (B) has none. Some tribes merely tie a piece of string or sinew around The Man. Some play with four cylinders instead of two, 2 men hiding and 2 guessing at the same time. Some use only one, guessing which hand holds it.

The game is for a man to hold one or two cylinders in his closed fists and move his hands rapidly, exchanging the cylinders, while his side usually sings to confuse the opponents. The latter guess where The Woman is and at each wrong guess they lose a point. At the first right guess they begin hiding the bones though sometimes this is done only after three right guesses in succession.

Points are scored by tally sticks of which each side has ten, twelve or twenty. The sticks are about ten inches long, with pointed ends and may be painted or carved. When one side has all the sticks, the game is won.

Sometimes to start the game, both sides hide and both guess. The one that guesses right hides first. If it is a tie, they hide again.

Usually men played this game with men while the women played separately with women.

they bring to bet. Piles of buckskin, piles of dried venison, even some beads from the east.

The men kneel down in two rows with their canoe paddles in front of them. Each has a short stick for drumming, because noise will confuse the guesser. The Okanogan have painted their faces for the game and wrapped their knuckles in fur so the movements of their hands will be hard to follow. Father's side has not done this, for they rely on the lucky bones which Father always uses. The bones have names like the "face cards" of a modern game, for the plain one is "The Woman," the one with a row of dots around the middle "The Man." They use twenty long smooth sticks with pointed ends which Father sticks in the ground, for keeping score, like poker chips. The Okanogan are used to playing with less but they hastily make up the number for their side.

Father is to hide first. He grasps the Man and Woman in his fists so that only the whitened ends show. Then he moves his hands like lightning, up, down, together behind his back. The eyes of the three Okanogans, fixed on him with cold intensity, cannot possibly see whether the cylinders have changed hands or not. Meantime, Father's side is drumming for all they are worth. They roar the famous song, sung by Deer when he gambled with Wolf: "I am going to run between his legs."

The guessers are driven nearly wild by the noise and they whisper together each with a different idea. Finally their leader, sitting opposite Father, takes his chance. They agree that he shall guess which hand holds the Woman and he points to the right. Instantly Father shoots it out and it holds the Man. The other side take a stick from their row and place it in Father's. He has to win every one of the twenty before the game is over. As it happens, that takes days. At the first guess, the Okanogan takes the Man and Woman while Father guesses. The 40 sticks of the two sides move back and forth. The men refuse to come home to meals. The wives leave the campfire and set up a game of their own. The younger men go outside the camp for wrestling and racing. Daughter is left alone to steal some words with her Clatsop boy.

Fishing camp.

Suddenly the game is won. The weary men from the Sound country stagger over to the pile of goods, and each takes his bet and the one paired with it. The wife says, "We ought to be getting home."

Then Dentalium goes off into the Plains, where shells seem a miracle, and the buckskin dress travels to Puget Sound. In that way the Indian markets once spread goods half way across a continent.

THE FEAST SYSTEM

At home, with his new possessions, how is the Coast man to make them tell for success in life? The Potlatch gift-giving feast was held by all the tribes. It was not as highly formalized among the Northwest Coast tribes. Potlatches were held in large houses specially built for them. Big potlatches were held on the following occasions: the giving of a new name, when the salmon began to run, at death, at the reburial, after a good hunt, or upon return from the Indian markets. Some were small affairs and others large. At the big potlatches whole tribes came to visit and to give and receive presents, with the host always outdoing his guests. The potlatch might last five days. Between meals, guests and host danced and sang, usually the songs taught them by their spirit helpers. Out of doors the young men wrestled or held tug-of-war. Sometimes they played shinny on a mile-long stretch of beach, with a wooden ball and long, curved sticks of vine maple. Or they might hold canoe races on the smooth water of the river at high tide. They came back ravenous for the daily feasts and sometimes they held an eating contest. Finally came the last day when the gifts were to be given out. This was the great moment of the feast giver, the time when he made his speech and sang his songs. There is no doubt but this was one of the grandest moments of a man's life. After the distribution of gifts the guests went home. As they departed in their canoes they sang goodbye.

With a few feasts like this behind him, a man could be sure of his position among the wealthy. He would assure the best possible start for his children, who would now be worthy of wealthy visions and of good marriages. If he thought of building a new house, he could get people to help him; and if there was doubt as to who should be the next chief, a man of such wealth and energy would have the best chance.

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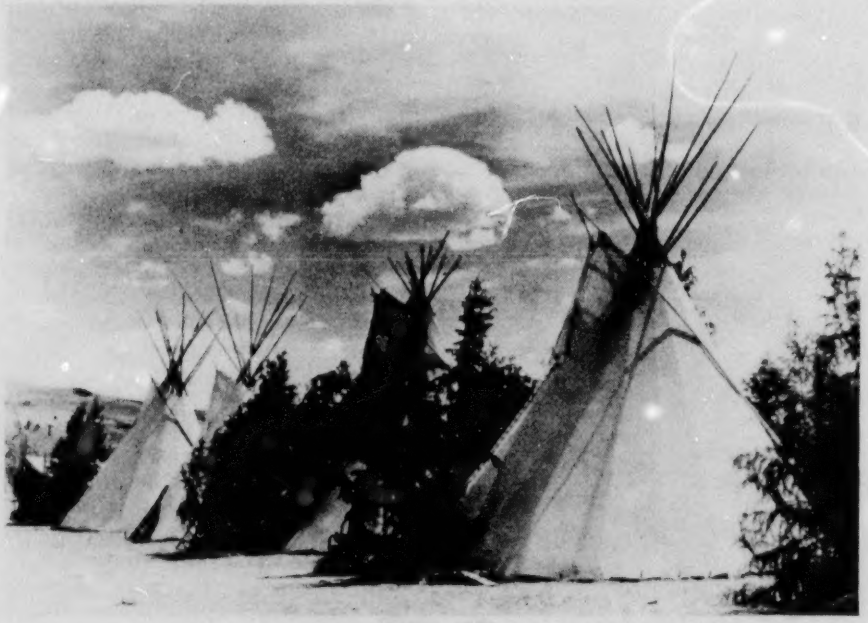
Government

The different tribes of Indians were made up of several villages, and villages each had a head chief. The word "chief" is another we should use carefully. We think of a chief as being very much the ruler of his people. White makers of treaties thought they needed no signature but the chief's, and they never could understand why he did not make his people obey. It took them a long time to learn that there were few Indian groups in America, large or small, where the people obeyed one man. A village might have two "chiefs" if it had two rich men. There was no rule, but when a leader died, people naturally looked to the same wealthy family for his successor. If the oldest son seemed able, they would follow him. If he was no leader, they might turn to a younger son or a brother of the dead man. The chosen man need not be a war leader. He must, in the first place, have people's respect and liking, or they would not follow him at all. He must be able to see both sides of a quarrel, for one of his main duties would be making decisions in such cases. He did not enforce these decisions, so he must know how to persuade and argue until they were accepted.

All the expenses for celebrations, for charity and for entertaining visitors had to come out of some private pocket, and, by custom, this was the chief's. It was he who gave the feasts. Usually, he had an extra large house built for that purpose. The chief opened his house to strangers who visited the village, at least if they were high class. He took care of the poor, old people or orphans, he made them gifts and at least saw that they had enough to eat. If someone in the village committed an offense and had to pay a fine, it was the chief who helped him. Some tribes gave him a share of the elk killed, the fish they caught—which might count as informal taxes.

In the Plateau Region, the social and political organization was influenced by ties of blood, mutual interest and dialects. Usually each band had a chief and several sub-chiefs. Wisdom, dignity, wealth, warring abilities and physical appearance were the qualities desired in a leader. When a tribe divided into smaller groups for the seasonal trips, a sub-chief was in charge of each party.[1]

[1]Wynecoop, David C. *Children of the Sun* (Spokane, Wash.: Comet and Cole), pp. 11-12. See this book for information about the Spokane Tribe.



Plateau tipis.

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War

Preventing war was one of the chief's "headaches." Much of his success depended on how wise and persuasive he was in keeping feuds out of his village. People who think of Indians as bloodthirsty would be surprised if they counted up the number actually killed in some Indian locality, during a year, and compared it with the number dead by murder, fire and accident in a modern city of the same size.

Their weapons, in the first place, were not deadly. They used bone pointed arrows, but arrows are good only at a distance, and they expected close-in fighting. So they carried jabbing sticks of hard wood, tipped with stone or bone. The short ones, about 2 feet long, were worn at the belt and used like daggers. Longer ones of 4 feet or so were carried in the hand and used like bayonets. They also had long thin clubs (we might call them dull knives) made of wood, stone or even whalebone. Against these weapons of wood and stone the Indians wore an armor made of wooden slats, elkskin, cattail mats and deerskin shirts made double. In many places, men wore a helmet, a bag-like mask of elkskin with slits for eyes.

The chief reliance of every warrior was on his spirit helper, and before fighting he went out to bathe and sweat to call its aid. Men with Thunderbird helpers were the luckiest, for the Thunderbird handles the lightning, a weapon more dangerous than any made by man. Fog was also good, since it concealed an attacking party from the enemy. So were the farsighted hawks or the fierce wolves. The man who had the most warlike spirit or spirits was appointed by the chief as war leader. He appointed someone younger and more daring, a relative if possible. Every man in the village was expected to fight. Sometimes a chief sent calls for help to the villages of in-laws. Lucky was the chief who had several daughters married outside his tribe. If there were not friends enough to help, a village sometimes paid for other fighters.

Suppose a man from one village has been killed by a man from another village. The murderer's family has refused to pay, and the whole village has taken their side. The victim's party goes home and bides their time. They plan to catch the enemy off guard by a surprise attack, and they may wait for months. At last they hear that the foe's camp is unguarded, perhaps after a feast. They go into the woods at night and put on their war paint, which is black, as with all Indians west of the Rockies. They dance in line before a fire, singing war songs never used at any other time.

Just before dawn they creep to the attack, sending scouts ahead. The cry of an unfamiliar bird was a sure sign of a scout reporting. If the camp is awake and full of armed men, the attackers may wait awhile or even go home. If all is well, they surround the house, throwing blazing torches on the roof. Then they stand ready with spears and clubs to meet the inhabitants as they rush out. By daylight they are off again, leaving three or four dead bodies on the ground. Men, women or children, it does not matter, so the enemy pays three- or fourfold for his murder.

This revenge, too, is murder, and the killers must purify themselves. They dance with their weapons in front of a fire, perhaps for 10 nights. Sometimes the medicine man performs a ceremony over them and their weapons. By that time the enemy may be ready to make peace. Or he may bide his time, and some night, when no one expects it, there may be again the smell of burning wood and the crack of clubs on heads. But at last comes peacemaking, with the two sides lined up and the neutral chiefs meeting at a point between them. Each side has a list of the dead on his side; every one of them has to be paid for, winners as well as losers. Property damage must also be paid for; there is no evening the score, and each side pays in full. The payments take the form of dentalium strings, in baskets, and they are given and received in solemn dance. The payments are presented to the chiefs of the two sides, and they make the division. The paid helpers get some, but the largest amount goes to the families who have lost a man.

Sometimes the raiders fought without provocation, merely to get slaves and booty, since the Indians did not fight to conquer land. The conquered people were free. The conquerors of modern times would be amazed to know that no Northwestern tribe ever tried to subdue and rule another.

The Spirits

Almost every action in Indian life was connected with spirit power. They saw its influence in every happening, funny and commonplace as well as important. You probably could not hear a group of men talking for an hour without some mention of the supernatural.

THE INDIAN BIBLE

The Northwestern Indian had no one who could be called a priest, yet each village had at least one old man who knew the tales of what we might call their Bible and told them on the rainy winter nights when people stayed indoors. The printed reports of these stories give no idea of how the teller acted them out, raising his voice to a squeak as he imitated one character, growling, roaring or weeping for others. Listeners had to pay close attention. Anyone who went to sleep, even a child, would suffer unless he drove away the evil by bathing in the icy water lest danger overtake him. At certain points the hearers said something like an amen to show they were awake. Some tribes repeated the speaker's last word or even a whole sentence.

The stories told how the earth at first was flat, without mountains or trees. It was full of cannibal monsters, and all its people had powers unknown to man. Some could swim under water, some could fly, some had claws. In fact, they could do all that fish and animals can now. Then came the Changer. The Quilleute say that this was the clever Mink. The Makah say Raven and the Puget Sound People, Fox. The Chehalis think it was the Moon, turned into a person. North to Alaska and east to the Rockies, Indians tell of the Changer in various forms. White men who repeat the stories sometimes call him the Great Spirit, like the god in Hiawatha. Still, he was not all powerful nor all good. He was like an allegory of the human race itself, sometimes benevolent, sometimes greedy, sometimes silly, but always powerful. Wherever he camped, the creeks and springs sprang up, and they have never gone dry. He piled up the mountains. When the one that Whites now call St. Helens grew jealous of Tacoma (Mount Rainier) and burned her head, he punished her. Tacoma (Mount Rainier), it seems, really did have a burning head at one time, for it was a volcano. He made the rocky cliffs off the Pacific shore by dumping out a sack of wooden combs, such as Indians use for their hair. He stole the sun from the miser who kept it and threw it up into the sky. He killed the monsters or turned them into something useful. Some of them still roar in the woods or in the ocean caves and eat people who stray from the villages.

As for the other inhabitants of the earth, it was he who changed them into birds, beasts and fish, the rocks and trees. Some tales say this was a punishment, because of ill behavior. Most think they agreed to the idea, when they knew the human race was coming. The salmon chose to be covered with scales and to live in the water. The wolves preferred fur and a home in the woods. Even the trees and rocks took their outward appearance because it suited their character. "The people will want hard wood," said the Changer to a thin, tough one, "so you had better be an alder. They will need greasy wood so you, who are fat, be a pine tree.

The First People consented. They knew that the trees would be cut down by human beings and the animals would be killed, but it would not be real death. They would only return to their villages and, later, would help the human race again.

Human beings came later, perhaps by chance, perhaps made by the Changer. They never had the power of the First People, yet it may be given them. Christians believe in one God, residing in the heavens. Some Greeks thought it was distributed through the world, appearing in almost anything and that is the way most Indians believed. We might say, perhaps, that the Indians thought of force pervading the world, like an electric current or a cosmic ray. It might show itself in anything from the cackle of a blue jay to the flash of the Thunderbird's eye, which is the lightning. Men made contact with it through different ways. Once contact was made, a man had power under his control. One man may get the power only to laugh like a blue jay, another to stand firm like a rock, and another to make plans for all the people. In fact, the list of powers was like a primitive psychology, cataloging all the human traits. Thinkers are still considering why people have such different possibilities, and one can find White men today who lay it all to the stars. The Indian start in psychology was at least as reasonable as astrology.

The Indians thought when one was sick the spirit returned to him and if illness left him he had the feeling that success was before him. Some Indians had secret societies and the spirit which inspired the society was a wild and terrifying one. Usually it was a cannibal monster from among those whom the Changer had never destroyed. One could not get this spirit by merely seeking it. He must also pay high dues to the society and then be prepared to give a huge feast. Therefore, only rich men's sons could join, and the society had only a few members in any tribe. Nevertheless, their prestige was very high. They could, people said, stand any kind of pain without feeling it. In costume, they looked so terrifying that people would obey them, merely out of fear.

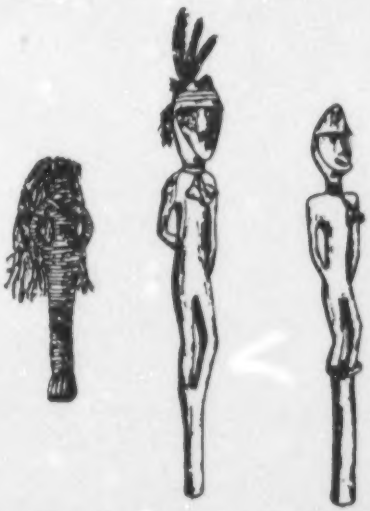
The Indian Doctor

One of the first things that every religion has asked of the Unknown was help in conquering disease. Up to the beginning of modern medicine, which was only a few centuries ago, humanity knew of no suffering that was so mysterious or so inescapable. Religion after religion was founded upon curing, and some are today. Christianity began with miracles of healing. It is no wonder that the Indians believed the strongest spirits of all to be connected with disease. They did not get far in separating the symptoms of different ailments. They thought, very justly, that temporary symptoms were often much the same and the important thing was their cause. This must have to do with spirit power. The Doctor could find it out only by going into a trance and speaking to his own spirit. To cure illness he must have other spirit help of several different kinds.

Curing spirits were not the animals and plants that spoke to most men. They were always magical beings, invisible to all but their owners. They could fly through the air, and some could lodge in the bodies of other men, causing sickness and death. Their very power made them dangerous, and the medicine man himself sometimes feared what they could make him do. He was usually middle aged before he felt able to control them, and when the spirit illness came upon him other medicine men realized his power.

A medicine man or a medicine woman had need of knowledge. He could refuse a case if he wished, saying that his spirit had no power for it. If he accepted and took the gift, usually made in the beginning, he was held responsible for whatever then happened. If the patient died the family might blame him, and the whole village would begin to feel he was a sorcerer. Someone might go out and kill him as a public service. His family would ask no payment. They were weary of the suspicion that usually affected them and were not sure that their kinsman's dangerous power was not hurting them too. It is no wonder that people shunned medicine power.

A Makah doctor in mask and cedarbark mantle.



Images made by medicine men to represent their spirit helper.

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A doctor never got rich, but he probably enjoyed his influence, for he could command obedience more quickly than the head man, because of fear. He was consulted on almost every occasion. He was never a nobody. An ambitious man, who had not much chance for wealth, could always find a road to prominence that way.

When the medicine man was called he had first to make a diagnosis. This meant calling his spirit, and he achieved it by a dance. Everyone in the village gathered to beat on the roof with poles and to help his power. The medicine man wore special clothing, and he usually shook a wooden rattle. His helpers followed, repeating a song, and finally the medicine man fell into a trance, showing his spirit was with him. When he came out of it, he felt exhausted, but he had knowledge of what troubled the patient.

The simplest trouble came from some powerful object that had entered the body, shot there by an evil medicine man. It must be drawn out by rubbing motions of the hands. Some doctors sucked it out, and, while the doctor was doing this, a chorus of helpers sang to give him power. His spirit told him where to suck on the patient's body.

HERB REMEDIES

Some practiced medicine in which modern doctors have been keenly interested. This was not in the hands of the doctors we have just described. They were called in only when the sickness was very severe, worth the feasting and the expense. For ordinary colds, colic and fever, people got some dried herbs from a neighbor woman. It was the women who had the knowledge of herbs, since they were the plant gatherers. They had found out through practical experience that balsam is good for poultices and cherry bark for cough syrups.

The women had directions for drying and cooking the different plants and often a short recitation to be used when they were applied. These formulas were secret and went down in families. They could be sold, but then the owner could never use them again. Most women mixed the herbs secretly and sold the mixture, or they applied it themselves. It was like a practical school of medicine, carried on by women, working alongside the magical one in the hands of men.

THE TALKING DOCTOR

These were man who cured by reciting a long myth about the creation. He would smoke and recite it, then diagnose sickness or cure minor ailments. More important, he recited on ceremonial occasions. He was something like a priest, for he officiated at the first salmon ceremony.

He did not escape the suspicion of witchcraft, however. It seems that the cure of a disease was, to the Indian, too mysterious to be trustworthy. Almost all Indians had this same feeling, that the medicine man held a power so strong that it might easily kill as well as cure. They did not believe in chance. No misfortune seemed natural to them except death from old age or the wounds received in battle. Everything else must be the work of evil spirits, and who is more able to employ them than the medicine man? All the tales of witches and goblins found in other countries were, to the Indians, pinned to the unfortunate doctor. Anyone who wished harm against another could employ the doctor without being discovered. Prominent people, therefore, often needed a medicine man as modern businessmen retain a lawyer, to keep them out of trouble and scheme against their rivals. The Indians simply put everything in terms of the spirits, as was their custom.

Indian Tribes in Washington State

(Past and Present)

Cathlamet. A Chinookan tribe formerly residing on the south bank of the Columbia River near its mouth, in Oregon adjoined the Clatsop and claimed the territory from Tongue Point to the neighborhood of Puget Island. In 1806 Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 300. In 1949 Lane reported 58 still living, but they are now extinct. They seem to have had but one village, also known as Cathlamet. As a dialect, Cathlamet was spoken by a number of Chinookan tribes on both sides of the Columbia, extending up the river as far as Rainier. It is regarded as belonging to the upper Chinook division of the family.

Cayuse. A Waiilatpuan tribe formerly occupying the territory about the heads of Walla Walla, Umatilla and Grande Ronde rivers and from the Blue Mountains to Deschutes River in Washington and Oregon. The tribe has always been closely associated with the neighboring Nez Perces and Walla Wallas and was regarded by the early explorers and writers as belonging to the same stock. So far as the available evidence goes, however, they must be considered linguistically independent. The Cayuse have always been noted for their bravery, and owing largely to their constant struggles with the Snake and other tribes, have been numerically weak. According to Gibbs there were few pureblood Cayuse left in 1851; intermarriage, particularly with the Nez Perces, having been so prevalent that even the language was falling into disuse. In 1855 the Cayuse joined in the treaty by which the Umatilla reservation was formed, and since that time have resided within its limits. Their number was officially reported as 404 in 1904; but this figure is misleading, as careful inquiry in 1902 failed to discover a single pureblood on the reservation and the language is practically extinct. The tribe acquired wide notoriety in the early days of the white settlement of the Territory. In 1838 a mission was established among the Cayuse by Marcus Whitman at the site of the present town of Whitman in Walla Walla county, Washington. In 1847 smallpox carried off a large part of the tribe. The Cayuse, believing the missionaries to be the cause, attacked them, murdered Whitman and a number of others, and destroyed the mission. Owing to the confusion in the early accounts it is difficult to distinguish the Cayuse from the Nez Perces and Walla Wallas, but there is no reason to suppose that in habits and customs they differed markedly from those tribes.

Chehalis. A collective name for several Salishan tribes on Chehalis River and its tributaries and on Grays Harbor. Gibbs states that it belongs strictly to a village at the entrance of Grays Harbor, and signifies "sand." There were 5 principal villages on the river, 7 on the north and 8 on the south side of the bay; there were also a few villages on the north end of Shoalwater Bay. By many writers they are divided into Upper Chehalis or Kwaiailk dwelling above the Satsop River, and the Lower Chehalis from that point down. There were several subdivisions such as: Hoquiam, Humptulips, Satsop, Wynooche and Wishkah. The Satsop spoke a dialect distinct from the others. In 1806 Lewis and Clark assigned to them a population of 700 in 38 lodges. In 1904 there were 147 Chehalis and 21 Humptulips under the Puyallup school superintendent. In 1945 there were 27.

The Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation were established by executive order in 1864, which was amended in October 1886. The reservation was originally inhabited by bands of Chehalis, Chinook, Clatsop and Cowlitz.

Chimakum. A Chimakuan tribe, now probably extinct, formerly occupying the peninsula between Hood Canal and Port Townsend. Little is known of their history except that they were at constant war with the Clallam and other Salish neighbors, and by reason of their minority in numbers suffered extremely at their hands. In 1855, according to Gibbs, they were reduced to 90 individuals. The Chimakum were included in the Point No Point treaty of 1855 and placed upon the Skokomish reservation, since which time they have gradually diminished in numbers. In 1890 Boas was able to learn of only three who spoke the language, and even those but imperfectly. He obtained a small vocabulary and a few grammatical notes, published in part in *American Anthropology*, v. 37-44, 1892.

Chinook. (From Tsinuk, their Chehalis name.) The best known tribe of the Chinookan family. They claimed the territory on the north side of the Columbia River in Washington, from the mouth of Grays Bay, a distance of about 15 miles and north along the seacoast as far as the north part of Shoalwater Bay, where they were met by the Chehalis, a Salish tribe. The Chinook were first described by Lewis and Clark, who visited them in 1805, though they had been known to traders for at least 12 years previously. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 400, but referred only to those living on the Columbia River. Swan placed their number at 112 in 1855, at which time they were much mixed with the Chehalis, with whom they have since completely

fused, their language being now extinct. From their nearness to Astoria and their intimate relations with the early traders the Chinook soon became well known, and their language formed the basis for the widely spread Chinook Jargon, which was first used as a trade language and was a medium of communication from California to Alaska.

Clallam. ("strong people") A Salish tribe living on the south side of Puget Sound, formerly extending from Port Discovery to Hoko River, being bounded at each end by the Chimakum and Makah. Subsequently they occupied Chimakum territory and established a village at Port Townsend. A comparatively small number found their way across to the south end of Vancouver Island; there was a large village on Victoria Harbor. They are more closely related to the Songish than to any other tribe. Eleven villages were enumerated by Eells in 1886, but only three—Elwha, Pistchin, and Sequim—are spoken of under their native names. The population numbered 800 in 1854, according to Gibbs, and there were 1,000 in 1945.

Under the Treaty of Point No Point of 1855, the Clallam were entitled to share in a small reservation on Hood Canal with the Skokomish Tribe, who were their traditional enemies. As this was Skokomish territory, very few Clallam settled there. Some of the Clallam settled on the Port Gamble Peninsula; when funds became available under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, land on the peninsula was bought in 1936, and the Port Gamble Reservation was established. The Lower Elwha Band of Clallam settled in Port Angeles, and funds under the Indian Reorganization Act purchased 372 acres of farm land in Elwha Valley. It was not until Jan. 19, 1968, that the Lower Elwha land was designated as an Indian reservation. The Jamestown Band of Clallam settled near the town of Sequim, and on Feb. 10, 1981, they received federal recognition.

Colville. A division of Salish between Kettle Falls and Spokane River, said by Gibbs to have been one of the largest of the Salish tribes. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 2,500 in 130 houses, in 1806. There were 321 under the Colville Agency in 1904.

The Colville Reservation is located in Ferry and Okanogan counties. An executive order of April 9, 1872, set apart a tract of land for certain bands of Indians in "Washington Territory." On July 2, 1872, another executive order restored the earlier lands to the public domain and, in lieu thereof, set aside other described lands.

Copalis. A division of Salish on Chehalis River 18 miles north of Grays Harbor. Lewis and Clark estimated their number at 200 in 10 houses in 1805.

Cowlitz. A Salish tribe formerly on the river of the same name in southwest Washington. Once numerous and powerful, they were said by Gibbs in 1853 to be insignificant, numbering with the Upper Chehalis, with whom they were mingled, not more than 165. In about 1887 there were 127 on the Puyallup Reservation. They are no longer known by this name, being evidently officially classed as Chehalis.

Duwamish. A small body of Salish near Seattle, which city was named from a chief of this and the Suquamish tribes. Their proper seat, according to Gibbs, was at the outlet of Lake Washington. In 1856 they were removed to the east shore of Bainbridge Island, but owing to the absence of a fishing ground were shortly afterward taken to Holderness Point, on the west side of Elliot Bay, which was already a favorite place for fishing. The name, being well known, has been improperly applied collectively to a number of distinct bands in this neighborhood. Their population in about 1856 was variously given from 64 to 312. The remnant is incorporated with the Snohomish and others under the Tulalip school, altogether numbering 465 in 1904.

Hoh. A band of the Quillayute living at the mouth of Hoh River, about 15 miles south of La Push, the main seat of the tribe on the west coast. They are under the jurisdiction of the Neah Bay Agency. Population 62 in 1905, and there were 25 in 1945.

The Hoh Reservation was established by executive order of Sept. 11, 1893. The Hoh are considered to be a part of the Quillayute Tribe, but are recognized as a separate tribal group.

Kalispel. (Popularly known as Pend Oreilles "ear drops.") A Salish tribe around the lake and along the river of the same name in the extreme north part of Idaho and northeastern part of Washington. In 1905 there were 640 Upper Pend Oreilles and 197 Kalispel under the Flathead Agency in Montana and 98 Kalispel under the Colville Agency in Washington. In 1855, after a treaty was negotiated in which they ceded vast areas of their rich land, the Kalispel Tribe was located on the reservation.

Kikiallus. Gibbs reported the Kikiallus as being located on Kikiallus River and lower Whidbey Island. He reported them to be one of the Skagit bands.

Klickitat. (Chinookan: "beyond," with reference to the Cascade Mountains.) A Shahaptian tribe whose former seat was at the headwaters of the Cowlitz, Lewis, White Salmon and Klickitat rivers, north of the Columbia River, in Klickitat and Skamania counties. Their eastern neighbors were the Yakimas, who speak a closely related language, and on the west they were met by various Salishan and

Chinookan tribes. In 1805 Lewis and Clark reported them as wintering on Yakima and Klickitat rivers, and estimated their number at about 700. Between 1820 and 1830 the tribes of Willamette valley were victims of an epidemic of fever and were greatly reduced in number. Taking advantage of their weakness, the Klickitat crossed the Columbia and forced their way as far south as the valley of the Umpqua. Their occupancy of this territory was temporary, however, and they were speedily compelled to retire. The Klickitat were always active and enterprising traders, and from their favorable position became widely known as intermediaries between the coastal tribes and those living east of the Cascade range. They joined in the Yakima treaty at Camp Stevens, in 1855, by which they ceded their lands to the United States. They were under the Yakima Reservation, where they merged with related tribes. The Toppenish are probably their nearest relatives.

Kwalhioqua. (Meaning "lonely place in the woods.") They lived on the upper course of Willapa River in western Washington. Gibbs extends their habitat east into the upper Chehalis, but Boas does not believe they extended east of the Coast range. They have been confounded by Gibbs and others with a Chinookan tribe on the lower course of the river called Willapa. This tribe built no permanent habitations, but wandered in the woods, subsisting on game, berries, and roots, and were bolder, hardier, and more savage than the river and coast tribes.

Lummi. A Salish tribe on an island in Bellingham Bay. They were said to have lived formerly on part of a group of islands east of Vancouver Island, to which they still occasionally resorted in 1863. According to Gibbs, their language is almost unintelligible to the Nooksack, their northern neighbors. Boas classes it with the Songish dialect. The Lummi are now under the jurisdiction of the Tulalip school superintendent; they numbered 761 in 1945.

A small portion of the aboriginal Lummi land area was reserved as a political entity from the cession by the Point Elliott Treaty in the Territory of Washington, Jan. 22, 1855. By executive order in 1873, certain portions of the treaty boundary were rearranged, slightly enlarging the reservation.

Makah. ("cape people") The southernmost tribe of the Wakashan stock, the only one within the United States. They belong to the Nootka branch. The Makah claimed the territory between Flattery rocks, 15 miles south, and Hoko River, 15 miles east of Cape Flattery, and also Tatoosh Island. In 1806 they were estimated by Lewis and Clark to number 2,000.

The Makah Reservation was created by the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855. It was amended, and the reservation was enlarged by subsequent executive orders.

Muckleshoot. The Muckleshoot Reservation was established by executive order of 1857 and presidential order of 1874. Certain tracts of land in Washington Territory were withdrawn from sale and set apart as the Muckleshoot Indian Reservation.

Nisqually. A Salish tribe on and about the river of the same name flowing into the southern extension of Puget Sound. The Nisqually reservation is on the Nisqually River between Pierce and Thurston counties. The name has also been extended to apply to those tribes of the east side of Puget Sound speaking the same dialect as the Nisqually. The best known of these tribes are the Puyallup, Skagit and Snohomish. The original reservation was negotiated by the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854 and established by executive order in 1857.

Nooksack. ("mountain men") The name given by the Indians on the coast to a Salish tribe, said to be divided into three small bands, on a river of the same name in Whatcom County. About 200 Nooksack were officially enumerated in 1906, but Hill-Tout says there were only about six true male Nooksack. They speak the same dialect as the Squawmish, from whom they are said to have separated.

Puyallup. An important Salish tribe on Puyallup River and Commencement Bay. The name means, "shadow," from the dense shade of its forests. By treaty in 1854, the Puyallup and other tribes at the head of Puget Sound ceded their lands to the United States and agreed to go upon a reservation set apart for them on the Sound near Shenahnam Creek. In 1945 there were 470.

In 1904, Congress removed the restrictions from allotted lands within the reservation, with the result that most of the land was sold.

Quillayute. A Chimakuan tribe, whose location is at La Push, at the mouth of the Quillayute River. Since they have been known to the Whites, the Quillayute have always been few in number; but being of independent and warlike disposition and occupying an easily defended situation, they have successfully resisted all the attempts of neighboring tribes to dislodge them. Their most active enemies have been the Makah, of Neah Bay, and until they came under the control of the United States, petty warfare between the two tribes was constant. They were noted for their skill in sealing, whaling and salmon fishing. Although the woods in their vicinity abounded with deer, elk and bear, the Quillayute hunted them but little and confined themselves to a seafaring life. There is evidence that a clan system of some sort

formerly existed among them, but it is now broken down. Their customs, as well as their mythology, indicate a possible connection with the tribes of Vancouver Island. The Quillayute, together with the Quinault, by treaty at Olympia, 1855-1856, ceded all their lands and agreed to removal to a reservation provided for them. The tribe has gradually diminished, and in 1945 there were 281.

Quinault. A Salish tribe on the Quinault River, and along the coast between the Quillayute and the Quitso on the north, and the Chehalis on the south. They are under the Taholah Indian Agency. There were 1,541 in 1945.

The Quinault Reservation was authorized in the treaty made with the Quinault and Quillayute Indians in 1855, and was enlarged by executive order in 1893. The original reservation was established for use of, and occupancy by, the Quinault and Quileute tribes, who received allotments. Later, members of the Chinook, Chehalis, and Cowlitz tribes, who resided in the area, were allotted land on the reservation.

Samish. These Indians were identified by Eells as living about the Samish River, south of the Lummis. They spoke the same language, but they were said to be a distinct tribe. There were but two bands of them; the Samish, who lived at the mouth, and the Bis-tla-tlous, who lived up the river.

Sauk-Suiattle. The Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe is composed primarily of descendants of the Sakhumehu who lived on the upper tributaries of the Skagit River.

Shoalwater. The Shoalwater Reservation was established by executive order in 1866 for miscellaneous "Indian purposes." Members of the Quinault, Chinook and Chehalis tribes reside on the reservation.

Skagit. This tribe was identified by Eells as having lived south of the Samish Indians; and by language they were more related to the Snohomish and Nisqually tribes on the south than to their northern neighbors. They mainly lived near the Skagit River.

Skokomish. Originally, the name Skokomish referred to a community of Twana people who lived along the Skokomish River and its north fork. In translation, Skokomish means "people of the river." The Skokomish were one of at least nine separate communities who referred to themselves collectively as the Tuwa'duxq, anglicized as Twana. The Twana were united by occupation of a common territory, similar cultural patterns, and a common language. The Skokomish were named in the preamble of the Treaty of Point No Point, Jan. 26, 1855.

Snohomish. The Snohomish lived south of the Skagits, south of the Stillaguamish River to the Snohomish River, and on both sides of it and its branches. They had four principal villages.

Snoqualmie. A Salish division, which formerly occupied the upper branches of a river of the same name, and which numbered 225 in 1857. The remnant of these Indians is now on the Tulalip Reservation.

Spokane. A name applied to several small bands of Salish on and near the Spokane River. Lewis and Clark in 1805 estimated their population at 600 in 30 houses. In 1908 there were 301 "Lower Spokane" and 238 "Upper Spokane," who are under the Colville Agency in Washington and the Coeur d'Alene Reservation in Idaho.

Squaxin Island. A Salish division between Hood Canal and Case Inlet. They numbered 29 in 1945. The Squaxin Island Reservation was established by the Medicine Creek Treaty of 1854.

Stillaguamish. A division of Salish formerly living on a river of the same name in northwest Washington. They are closely related to the Snohomish.

The Stillaguamish Tribe is composed of descendants of the Stoluckwamish and other bands living on or near the Stillaguamish River. They were named in the preamble to the Treaty of Point Elliott, Jan. 22, 1855.

Suquamish. A Salish division on the west side of Puget Sound. They claimed the land from Apple Tree Cove in the north to Gig Harbor in the south. Seattle, who gave his name to the city, was chief of this tribe and the Duwamish in 1853. Population in 1857 was 441, and in 1909 there were 180.

The Port Madison Reservation was set aside under the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855 and enlarged by executive order in 1864.

Swinomish. The Swinomish Reservation was established by the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855, and the north boundary was defined by an executive order of 1873. The reservation was set aside for the use of the Suiattle, Skagit and Kikiallus; it is now known as the Swinomish Indian Tribal Community.

Tulalip. The Tulalip Reservation was one of the four reservations established by the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855. Tulalip Tribe consists of Snohomish, mixed with other tribes whose aboriginal territory was near the present city of Everett, Wash.

Walla Walla. ("little river") A Shahaptian tribe formerly living on the lower Walla Walla River and along the east bank of the Columbia from the Snake River nearly to the Umatilla in Washington and Oregon. While a distinct dialect, their language is closely related to the Nez Perce. In 1855

they were removed to the Umatilla Reservation in Oregon.

Wenatchee. Wenatchi (meaning "river issuing from a canyon," referring to the Wenatchee River). They are a Salish division formerly living on the Wenatchee River and the Columbia River, but who are removed to the Yakima Reservation; some are under the Colville Reservation.

Yakima. An important Shahaptian tribe, formerly living on both sides of the Columbia and on the northerly branches of the Yakima and the Wenatchee rivers. They were mentioned by Lewis and Clark in 1806, and were estimated to have a population of 1,200. In 1855 the United States made a treaty with the Yakima and 13 other tribes of Shahaptian, Salishan and Chinookan stocks, by which they ceded the territory from the Cascades to the Palouse and Snake rivers, and from lower Chelan to the Columbia; and the Yakima Reservation was established, upon which all the participating tribes and bands were to be confederated as the Yakima nation under the leadership of Kamaiakan, a distinguished Yakima chief. Before this treaty could be ratified, the Yakima war broke out, and it was not until 1859 that the provisions of the treaty were carried into effect. The Palouse and certain other tribes have never recognized the treaty nor come on the reservation. The term Yakima has been generally used to include all the tribes within the reservation, so it would be impossible to estimate the proper number of Yakimas. In 1909 there were 1,900. The native name of the Yakima is Waptailmim, "people of the narrow river," or Pa'kiut'lema, "people of the Gap," both names referring to the narrows in the Yakima River at Union Gap, where their chief village was formerly situated. The population of the Yakima Reservation was 2,367 in 1945.

Indian Tribes in Washington State

(Listed by Agency)

Superintendent, Colville Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Coulee Dam, WA 99116

Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Superintendent, Northern Idaho Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Lapwai, ID 83540

Kalispel Indian Community (in Washington)

Superintendent, Spokane Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Wellpinit, WA 99040

Spokane Tribe

Superintendent, Yakima Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs
Toppenish, WA 98948

Yakima Indian Nation

Superintendent, Western Washington Agency
Bureau of Indian Affairs
3006 Colby Ave.
Everett, WA 98201

Hoh Indian Tribe
Lower Elwha Tribal Community
Makah Indian Tribe
Muckleshoot Indian Tribe
Nisqually Indian Community
Port Gamble Indian Community
Puyallup Tribe
Quillayute Tribe of Indians
Skokomish Indian Tribe
Squaxin Island Tribe
Suquamish Indian Tribe
Swinomish Indian Tribal Community
Tulalip Tribes
Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation
Lummi Tribe of Indians
Quinault Tribe of Indians
Shoalwater Bay Indian Tribal Organization
Nooksack Indian Tribe
Sauk-Suiattle Indian Community
Upper Skagit Indians
Jamestown Band of Clallam Indians
Stillaguamish Indian Tribe
Chinook Indians*
Cowlitz Indians*
Duwamish Indians*
Kikiallus Indians*
Lower Skagit*
Samish Tribe of Indians*
San Juan Tribe*
Snohomish Indian Tribe*
Snoqualmie Indian Tribe*
Steilacoom Indian Tribe*

*Indian groups that receive assistance from the Bureau only in matters relating to the settlement of claims against the U.S. government, such as those involving inadequate compensation for land taken in the past.

(From *American Indians and Their Federal Relationship*, United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, March 1972, pp. 35-36, an update of status for Jamestown Band of Clallam and Stillaguamish Indian Tribe.)

Indian Reservations in Washington State

NAME	ACREAGE[1]	POPULATION[2]	COUNTY[3]	AMERICAN INDIAN POPULATION IN COUNTY[4]
Chehalis Reservation	2,075.06	185	Grays Harbor	2,293
			Thurston	1,726
Colville Reservation	1,011,871.12	2,994	Ferry	983
			Okanogan	3,233
Hoh River Reservation	443.00	39	Jefferson	440
Kalispel Reservation	4,557.41	129	Pend Oreille	192
Lower Elwah Reservation	372.00	247	Clallam	2,113
Lummi Reservation	7,383.77	1,445	Whatcom	3,252
Makah Reservation	27,027.13	571	Clallam	2,113
Muckleshoot Reservation	1,234.76	467	King	12,437
Nisqually Reservation	770.86	338	Thurston	1,726
Nooksack Reservation	.97	. . .	Whatcom	3,252
Ozette Reservation	719.00	. . .	Clallam	2,113
Port Gamble Reservation	1,303.00	454	Kitsap	2,020
Port Madison Reservation	2,846.08	254	Kitsap	2,020
Puyallup Reservation	65.04	171	Pierce	5,919
Quillayute Reservation	813.84	250	Clallam	2,113
Quinault Reservation	130,583.04	1,021	Grays Harbor	2,293
			Jefferson	440
Shoalwater Reservation	335.00	25	Pacific	357
Skagit Reservation	99.00	N/A	Skagit	1,138
Skokomish Reservation	2,950.82	316	Mason	1,008
Spokane Reservation	133,179.15	581	Stevens	1,504
Squaxin Island	827.89	304	Mason	1,008
Swinomish Reservation	3,610.76	337	Skagit	1,138
Tulalip Reservation	10,221.40	630	Snohomish	4,141
Yakima Reservation	1,119,093.97	7,480	Yakima	6,656
			Klickitat	467

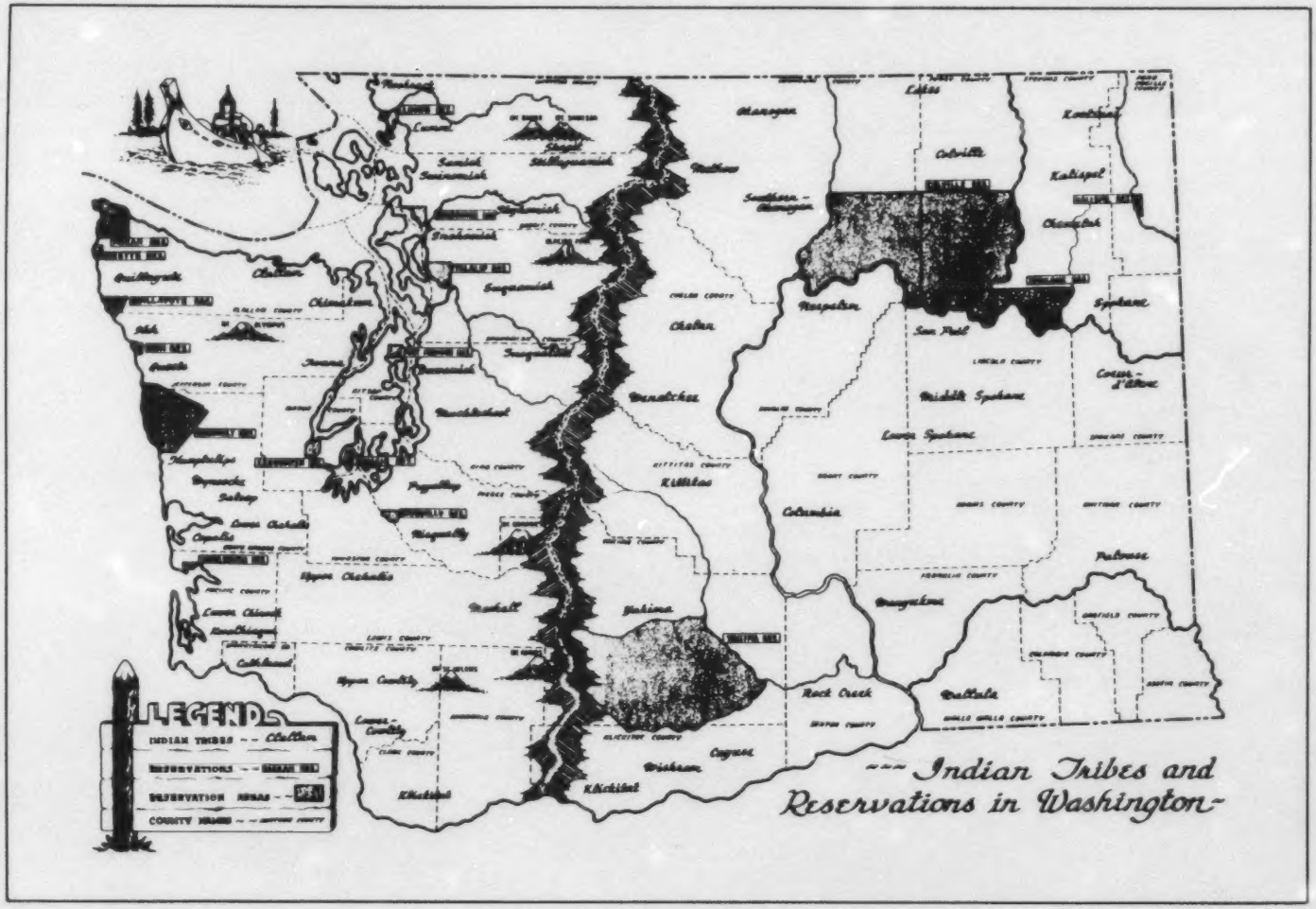
[1]From United States Department of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report of Indian Lands*, Sept. 30, 1978.

[2]From United States Department of Commerce, *Federal and State Indian Reservations*, 1974. This figure does not refer to enrollment.

[3]County or counties where the reservation is located.

[4]From United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing—Washington*, March 1981. This figure represents American Indian, Eskimo and Aleut population by county.

Indian Tribes and Reservations in Washington State



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Chief Sealth's Speech Made Before Signing the Treaty of 1855

(Duwamish)

...We are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us. To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred, and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander from the graves of your ancestors and seemingly without regret. Your religion was written on tables of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red man could never comprehend nor remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors—the dreams of our old men, given them in the solemn hours of night by the great spirit, and the visions of our sachems, and is written in the hearts of our people.

Your dead cease to love you and the land of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander away beyond the stars. They are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget the beautiful world that gave them being—they still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant-lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender, fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the happy hunting ground to visit, guide, console and comfort them.

Day and night cannot dwell together. The Red man has ever fled the approach of the White man as the morning mist flees before the rising sun. However, your proposition seems fair, and I think that my folks will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them.... It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many.... A few more moons. A few more winters—and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or loved in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people—once more powerful than yours. But why should I mourn the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant—but it will surely come, for even the White man, whose God walked and talked with him as friend, with friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.

We will ponder your proposition, and, when we decide, we will let you know. But should we accept it, I here and now make this condition—that we will not be denied the privilege, without molestation, of visiting at any time the tombs of our ancestors.... Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks, which seem to be dumb and dead as they swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people, and the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than to yours, because it is rich with the dust of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch.... And when the last Red man shall have become a myth among the White man... and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White man will never be alone.

Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead—I say? There is no death. Only a change of worlds.[1]

[1]Transcript of Chief Sealth's answer to Governor Stevens' address marking the creation of Washington Territory, 1853. Translated and written by Dr. Henry A. Smith. *Seattle Sunday Star*, Oct. 29, 1887.

Chinook Lord's Prayer

Nesika papa klaksta mitlite kopa saghalie
Our Father Who dwells on High

Kloshe kopa nesika tumtum mika nem.
Good for our hearts Your Name.

Kloshe mika tyee kopa konaway tillikum;
Good You Chief of all people;

Kloshe mika tumtum kopa illahee kahkwa kopa saghalie;
Good Your heart to such country as Yours up above;

Potlatch konaway sun nesika muckamuck,
Give us all days our food,

Pee kopet-kumtux donaway nesika mesachie,
And stop remembering all our sins we make to them,

Kahkwa nesika mamook kopa klasksta spose mamook mesachie kopa nesia;
Suppose sin against us;

Mahah siah kopa nesika konaway mesachie.
Throw far away from us all evil.

Kloshe kahkwa.
Amen.

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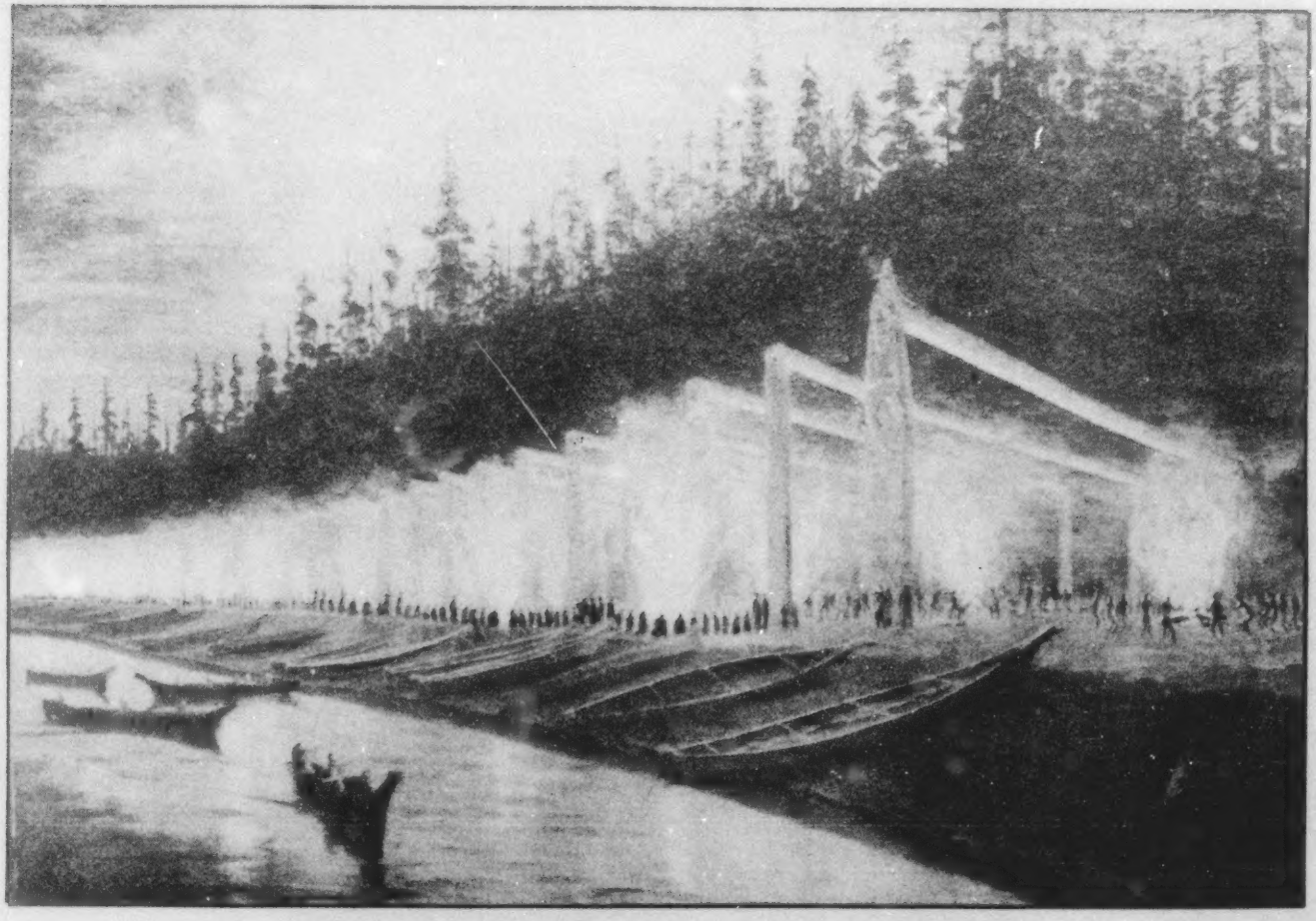
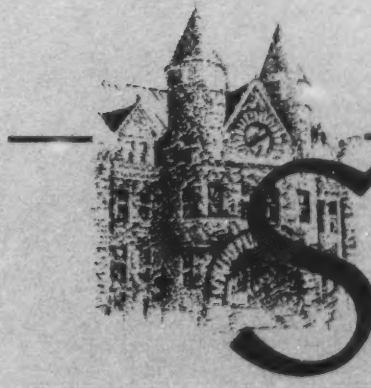


Old Man House

An artist's conception of the extended family dwelling of Chief Seattle located at Suquamish, Wash. The site is still visible along the shores of Agate Passage, not far from the burial site of Chief Seattle. (Photo courtesy of the Washington State Historical Society.)



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